THE TAMILIAN ANTIQUARY

Editor

PANDIT D. SAVARIROYAN

THE TAMILIAN ANTIQUARY

The Tamilian Antiquary.

VOL. I.

No. I.

i. The Bharata Land or Dravidian India.

By V. J. Tambi Pillai Esq., M.R.A.

ii. The Solar and the Lunar Races of India.

By V.J. Tambi Pillai Esq., M.R.A.S.

iii. Ode to Cheraman-Udhiyan Cheralandan.

By K.G. Sesha Iyer Esq., B.A., B.L.,

iv. Notes: (1) The Relation of the Pandavas with the Tamilian Kings; and (2) the Etymology of the words Chera and Kerala.

By Pandit D. Savariroyan. M.R.A.S.

No. 2.

A Critical Review of the Story of the Ramayana and An Account of South Indian Castes (in Tamil).

By V.P. Subramania Mudaliar Esq., G.B.V.C.

With an Introduction (in English).

By J.M. Nallaswami Pillai Esq., B.A., B.L.

No. 3.

Some Mile-stones in the History of Tamil Literature, or, The Age of Jnana Sambandha.

By the late Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai. M.A.

With an Introduction *By Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya Avl., M.A.*

No. 4

An Inquiry into the date of Manikkavacager :

i. Manikkavacagar and His Date.

By K.G. Sesha Iyer Esq., B.A., B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

(2) Manikkavacagar and the Early Christians of Malabar.

By Ponnambalam Pillai Esq., M.R.A.S.

No. 5.

i. Glimpses of Ancient Dravidians.

By E.S.W. Senathi Raja Esq. LL.B., M.R.A.S.

ii. The Augustan Age of Tamil Literature.

By S. Krishnasawmi Aiyengar Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S.

iii. The Ten Tamil Idyls,

By the late Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai, M.A.

No. 6

Pura-porul (1) A summarised account of *Pura-Porul:* and (2) Selections translated from *Pura-nanuru*.

By the late Rev. G.U. Pope, M.A., D.D.

With an Introduction, *By J.M. Nallasurami Pillai Esq., B.A.,B.L.*

No. 7

Valmiki Ramayana and South Indian Sociology.
(A collection of seven learned essays on the subject).

No. 8

i. **Dravidian Kingdoms.**

By Dewan Bahadur T. Desikachariar B.A., B.L.

ii. **The Conquest of Bengal and Burma by the Tamils.**

By the late Mr. V. Kanakasabhi Pillai B.A., B.L.

iii. **Distribution of Races Round the Persian Gulf.**

By J.A. Saldana Esq., B.A., LL.B

iv. **Representative Institutions in Southern India,**

By T. Ponnambalam Pillai Esq., M.R.A.S.

v. **Laments.—Selections from Pura-Nanuru.**

By K.G. Sesha Aiyer Esq., B.A., B.L.

vi. **Serpent Workship in India.** *By M. Jivaratnam, Esq., B.A.*

vii. **The Ancient Dravidian Industries and Commerce.**

By the Pandit M. Raghava Aiyengar Avl.

No. 9

i. **Dravidian Kingdoms and List of Pandiyan Coins.**

By Dewan Bahadur T. Desikachariar. B.A., B.L.

ii. **Music in Ancient India.**

By C. Tirumalayya Naidu Esq, M.R.A.S.

iii. **The origin of the Cranganur (Kodungolur) Temple.**

By T. Ponnambalam Pillai Esq., M.R.A.S.

iv. **The Age of Pattupattu.**

By T.A. Ramalingam Chettiar Esq., B.A., B.L.

v. **Heroic Mothers of Ancient Tamilagam. (In Tamil)**

By Pandit M. Raghava Iyengar Avl.

No. 10

i. **The origin of the Tamil Vellalas.**

By V.J. Tamby Pillai, Esq., M.R.A.S.

ii. **The Poets of the Tamil Lands.**

By the late Rev. G.U. Pope, MA., D.D.

The Tamilian Antiquary

VOL. II.

No. I.

I. An Old Tradition Preserved.
By V.J. Tamby Pillai Esq., M.R.A.S.

II. A Note on the Sangam Periods.
By The Editor.

III. The Antiquity of Nanjinad and Shenkottah.
By T. Ponnambalam Pillai Esq., M.R.A.S.

IV. Sage Pavananhi, Critic and Teacher.
By M.S. Puranalingam Pillai Esq., B.A., L.T.

V. Dravidian Coins.
By Diwan Bahadur T.M. Rangachariar B.A. and
Diwan Bahadur T. Desikachariar, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

VI. The Kural.
By The Rev. Dr. J. Lazarus.

VII. A Chapter from the Kural.
By J.M. Nallasamy Pillai Esq., B.A., B.L.

VIII. The Tamils in the Epic Age. (Tamil)
By Pandit M. Raghava Aiyanagar Avl.

IX. Lanka and the Tamil Sangam (Tamil)
By A. Muthuthamby Pillai Esq., Jaffna.

X. Pandian Coins.
By Diwan Bahadur T. Desikachariar B.A., B.L. M.R.A.S.

No. 2

1. **The Cholas and their Coinage**
   By Diwan Bahadur T. Desikachari, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

2. **The Origin of the Word 'ARYA'**
   By V.J. Tamby Pillai, Esq., M.R.A.S., (Ceylon)

3. **The Canarese War**
   By Ponnambalam Pillai, Exq., M.R.A.S.

4. **Tamil Proverbs**
   By The Rev. Dr. J. Lazarus

5. **St. Thomas, the Apostle, and India**
   By Joseph C. Panjikaran, Esq., M.A.

6. **Vibhishnan Buddhi**
   By M.S. Purnalingam Pillai Esq., B.A. LT.

ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICE
C-2/15, Safardarjung Development Area
New Delhi-110 016

THE TAMILIAN ANTIQUARY

Editor

PANDIT D. SAVARIROYAN

VOL – I

NO – IX

ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
New Delhi, 1986

ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
C-2/15, SDA, P.B. No. 4534
New Delhi-110 016

Price : Rs. 720 (set)
Rs. 60 (No)
First Published : 1911
AES Reprint : 1986

Published by J. Jetley
For ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
C-2/15, SDA, NEW DELHI – 110016
Printed at Konark Press
Lakshmi Nagar, New Delhi – 110092

THE TAMILIAN ANTIQUARY.

No. 9.

I. **Dravidian Kingdoms and List of Pandiyan Coins.** p. 1.
By Dewan Bahadur T. Desikachariar Avl., B.A., B.L.

II. **Music in Ancient India.** p. 17.
By C. Tirumalayya Naidu Esq., M.R.A.S.

III. **The Origin of the Cranganur (Kodungolur) Temple.** p. 33.
By T. Ponnambalam Pillai Esq., M.R.A.S.

IV. **The Age of Pattupattu.** p. 49.
By T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar B.A., B.L.

V. **Heroic Mothers of Ancient Tamilagam.** p. 73.
By Pandit Raghava Iyengar Avl.

PUBLISHED BY
PANDIT D. SAVARIROYAN,
Hony. Secretary, T. A. Society, Trichinopoly.

1911.

Dravidian Kingdoms

BY

DEWAN BAHADUR T. DESIKACHARIAR AVL., B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

[Supplement to the paper in the 8th number of the Series.]

FOR the history of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom after the age of Kūn Pāṇḍya we have the more reliable, if perhaps meagre, information furnished by the inscriptions brought to light periodically by the Government Epigraphist. The Sanskrit portion of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant of Neḍunjaḍaiyan refers to the Pāṇḍyan dynasty with its family priest Agastya, and the continuance of the Pāndyan dynasty after the deluge, reference to which has been made in the 8th number of this Journal. Engraving "two-fish" (the Pandyan Crest) on Mount Meru, sharing with Indra one half of his throne and garland, the conquest of *daityâs* in war and the churning of the milk ocean are some of the mythical exploits attributed to the illustrious ancestors of the King who issued the grant, achievements which are recounted in inscriptions of a later date in much the same language.

The earliest King to whom the descent is traced by the composer of the inscription is Māravarman, who performed the *Tulâbhâra* Ceremony and distributed according to prescribed rules a heap of gold. His son was Raṇadhīra. His son Māravarman Rājasimha defeated in battle the King Pallavamalla and performed the *Hêmagarbha* and *Tulâbhâra* ceremonies and married the daughter of the Maḷava King by whom he had a son named Jaṭila, who is also called Parāntaka.

The Tamil portions of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant refers to the subversion of the Pandyan rule under the King Palyāga-Mudu

Kuḍumi-Peruvaḷudi by the Kaḷabhra occupation of the Madura country and the over throw at a later time of the Kaḷabhra power by the Pāṇḍyan King "Kaḍuṅkōn" who "removed the right which other kings had over the Goddess of Earth and established his own exclusive right over her." His son was Adhirāja Māravarman Avani Sūlāmaṇi who "made the Earth his exclusive possession and wedded the Goddess of Prosperity." He was succeeded by his son Cheḷiyan Sēndan "who became famous by his heroism." Cheḷiyan Sēndan's son was Arikēsarin Asamasaman Māravarman who overcoming "the ocean like army of Vilvēli" at the battle of Nelvēli and the armies of the King Kēraḷa, became the "undisputed lord of the Earth." His son was Kōchadaiyan. the Tennan, Vānavan, Sembiyan, Chōḷan, the King of Kings, the sweet Karnāṭaka, Kongarkōmān. He destroyed at Marudur an "ocean like army" and in the great city of Mangalapuram, overcame and destroyed the Maharatha. This powerful King was succeeded by his son Tēr-māran who fought the battles of Neḍuvayal, Kurumaḍai, Mannikunchi, Tirumangai, Pūvalūr, Koḍumbāḷūr, Kuḷumbur and Periyalūr. He vanquished the Pallavas in one of the engagememts and crossing the Kāvēri subdued the Malai Kongam and worshipped the God *Pasupati* at Pândikkoḍumuḍi and contracted an alliance with the Ganga King. To him are also attributed the renewal of the walls of Kūḍal (Madura), Vañji (in the Cochin State) and Kōḷi (Uraiyur near Trichinopoly). This great King who seems to have conquered practically the whole of the Dravida Country and established himself as the supreme ruler of South India, was succeeded by his son Tennan, Vānavan, Neḍunjaḍayan, who adopted his father's policy of extending his domnions in many directions. He conquered the Kāḍavas in battle at Peṇṇāgaḍam on the southern bank of the Kāvēri, and the Ayavēḷ and the Kurumbas at the battle of Nāṭṭukurumbu. Among his many titles was his surname, "Parāntaka."

As usual there is considerable difference between the Tamil and Sanskrit portions of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant thus

presenting the familiar difficulty experienced in collating the material furnished by South Indian inscriptions and weaving a connected history therefrom. But there can be no doubt that the traditional account given in the Tamil portion of the grant has a sound historical basis. The name of the pious King Palyāga-Mudu Kuḍumi-Peruvaḷudi is referred to in Ancient Tamil Literature as a victorious King who fought many bloody battles.* Of particular interest too is the

* [The Pandiya King, Palyagasalai-Mudukudumi-Peruvaludi, is one of the ancient kings of the dynasty. In Purananuru, a collection of 400 lyrics, we find no less than five verses in his honour sung by three poets. According to these lyrics, Pandyan Kudumi was a great warrior and righteous monarch. His fame and terror spread over the oceans; he expelled his enemies from the land and extended his territory; he performed many sacrifices and his charity was boundless; he was never conceited in spite of his great victories and the spoils of his wars were freely distributed to the poor; he was a liberal patron of letters and a pious devottee of Civa. Though the age of this great monarch cannot, at present, be ascertained with the meagre information we possess, it may be assigned to a period anterior to the Christian era. Reference is made in the *Madurai-Kanji* (see line 759), as an ancestor of Pandyan Neduncheliyan, the conqueror in the great battle of Talayalanganam and the hero of Mangudi Marudanar's *Madurai-Kanji* above refered to and Nakirar's *Nedunal-Vadai*, the two among the "Ten Tamil Idylls." The date of Neduncheliyan is fixed as the second century A. D., by Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., M.R.A.S., (Bangalore), in his learned essay "The Augustian Age of Tamil Literature," (*vide* Tamilian Antiquary No. 5.") In the *Purananuru* the contemporary poets address Peruvaludi "Kudumi" or "Kudumi Koman" (Koman=Lord); bu in the *Madurai-Kanji*, Mangudi Marudanar mentions his name with a prefix *Muthu*, "ancient." This shows that there was a fair distance between the age of Neduncheliyan and his predecessor "Muthu"-Kudumi.

We learn from the Velvi-Kudi *Grant* that this ancient king, "Parameswara Palyaga Mudu Kudumi" had originally granted the village to one Korkai-Kilan and the possession of the village was enjoyed by the donee "for a long time." Subsequently, perhaps, in the reign of Kadungon or his predecessor, the Kalabrahs invaded the country and ousted the *Adhiraja* (=the paramount king.) Thereupon, the Pandyadhiraja, Kadungon, expelled the Kalabhras from the country and established his right in the kingdom. But it would appear, from the *Grant*, that the village of Velvikudi, which was lost during the invasion of the Kalabhras, was not restored to the descendants of the original donee, until the reign of Nedunjadaiyan, the seventh in the line from Kadungon; when one of the descendants of the donee by name Maran-Kari, so successfully pleaded his right to the village before the king, that the latter became convinced of Maran-Kari's title to the village and declared that the "land within four specified boundaries" was granted to him as it has been given by his ancestor.

From the above facts we can infer that the subversion of the Pandiyan rule by the Kalabharas should have happened under the reign of Kadungon or his immediate predecessor and not at so early a date as that of the *ancient* Kudumi. At any rate, the Kalabhra *interregnum* should have taken place posterior to the reign of Nedun-cheliiyan already mentioned who was a powerful sovereign in his days and a terror to his enemies *far and near*. And we note here that the Velvikudi *grant* does not explicitly say when or in whose reign the subversion of the Pandiyan rule by the Kalabhras took place. *Editor T.A.*]

occupation of the Pandiyan Country by the Kaḷabhras a warlike race probably of the Canarese Country which seems to have engaged the attention from time to time of the Chalukya Kings Vikramāditya I, Vinayāditya, Vikramaditya II and of the Pallavas of Conjiveram. References are not wanting in Tamil Literature to the temperorary occupation of Madura by a King of Karnāṭa which probably relate to the Kaḷabhra occupation recounted in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant.

The donor of the village mentioned in the grant under reference probably ruled in the end of the 8th Century and if this guess is right we have a tentative history of the Pāṇḍyas in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

Two copper plate inscriptions from Sinnamanūr in the Periyakuḷam Taluka of the Madura District throw a flood of light on the Pandiyan history in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Recounting the exploits of Pāṇḍyan kings in the characteristic style of the Indian panegerist, they furnish too indications as to events which cannot be altogether beyond the pale of history. A Sundra Pāṇḍya versed in all the Ṣastras is refrred to as an illustrious ancestor of the line. The allusion is possibly to Kūn Pāṇḍya about whose exact place in history there has been all the interesting speculation already adverted to (in the 8th number of this Journal). The geneology of the line is given commencing from Arikēsarin and ending with Rājasimha II and two Varaguna Pandyas are mentioned to whom are assigned the 4th and 6th places in the list. The father of Rājasimha II was Parāntaka *alias* Vīra Narayana who married Vānavan Mahādēvi. Again as in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant we encounter the disconcerting discrepancy between the Sanskrit and Tamil portions of the inscriptions on these plates, though the discrepancy is not altogether irreconcilable. The achievements attributed to the Pāṇḍyan Kings in these epigraphs relate to the acknowledged interest which they evinced in the encouragement of Tamil Literature of which they were no doubt great patrons. The establishment of the Madura College of Poets and the translation of the Mahābārata in Tamil, referred to in the Sinnamanūr plates must have taken place in the palmy days of the

Pāṇḍyan rule when they were Puliyas and Panchavars entitled to use alike the fish, the tiger and bow crests as their *birudus.* Varaguna Raja's son delighted in the name of Parachakrakōlākalan which title bears a family resemblance to the legend Samarakōlākalan found on coins from the Madura Country attributed to a later age. The events thus recorded were probably those handed down by tradition from the time of the great Kūn Pāṇḍya, to whom the reigning prince claimed his ancestry.

It is not possible in the present state of South Indian Chronology to assign the exact period during which flourished each of the kings whose names are given in these plates. All that can be done is to arrive at an approximation, and no more, as to the age in which they reigned. If the line of kings referred to in the Sinnamanūr grant was of the same family as that of the line referred to in the Vēlvikuḍi grant we have from these inscriptions a geneological table of the kings who ruled over the Madura Country from the 7th to the 10th centuries.

Most probably the kings whose exploits are narrated in the Sinnamanūr plates flourshed in the 9th and 10th centuries of Christian Era. The Māranjaḍaiyan Varaguna of the Trichinopoly Cave was probably a different person from the Varaguna Maharaja of the Ambasamudram inscription and the Varaguna who, as already noticed, defeated the Sripurambiya. The fact that more than one king bore the same name enhances the difficulty in arriving at anything like certainty in matters Chronological where South Indian sovereigns are concerned. Māranjaḍaiyan and Varaguna are quite as frequent as Sundara Pandya. Kings with the surname "Muttarayan" of probably the same period as that under review, have inscriptions in Tanjore and if they were not a branch of the main line, the construction of an accurate geneological table is pretty nigh impossible till further research throws more light on the matter.

For about two centuries more the Pandyas were not independant but were neverthless giving trouble to their

Chola overlords. Nor do we know much about them even in their subordinate position as Chōla feudatories.

With the commencement of the 12th Century, Pāṇḍyan History again attracts attention. The Chōlas seem to have lost their hold by that time on the Pāṇḍyan Country as evidenced by the wars of the Pāṇḍyan succession and the invasion of India by the Singhalese Kings and reprisals by the Pandyan King on Ceylon. This portion of the Pāṇḍyan history has been dealt with in the 8th number of this Journal.

Side by side with the scions of the Pandyan race ruling in Madura, we find in the southern portion of the Pāṇḍya Country Chōla viceroys ruling with the title of Chōla Pāṇḍyas. During the time of Raja Raja Chōla the Pāṇḍyan territory became, subordinate to the Chōla power and during the time of Rajendra Chōla, who extended his territory in every direction it was probably found necessary to depute one of his sons to rule as a Viceroy with the title of Chola Pāṇḍya Deva.

The Chola King Rājādhi Rāja (A.D. 1018—1053) conquered Vīra Pāṇḍya and drove the ancient Mullaiyūr Sundra Pāṇḍya of "endless great fame" and put the five Pāṇḍyas to flight and limiting the boundary of the Pāṇḍyan Country placed garrisons in strategically important places of the newly acquired territory.

The Chōla King Parakēsari Varman Rājēndra Deva (1052—1064) conferred on his younger brother Mummuḍi Chōlan the title of Chōla Pāṇḍya. Vīra Rājēndra I (1062—1070) was pleased to grant the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam "whose crown of jewels is exalted in the world" to his "Royal son" Gangai Konda Sōḷan, along with the title of Chōla Pāṇḍya "the leader of the army of very tall Elephants."

A provisional list of the later Pāṇḍyas of this line from A.D. 1365 to 1615 has been prepared by the Government Epigraphist which, together with the tentative list of the Pāṇḍyan Kings between the 7th and 10th centuries is given in the subjoined appendix.

APPENDIX.

Tentative Pāṇḍyan Geneology (G. O. No. 574, Public dated, 17th July, 1908) based on the Vēḷvikuḍi grant and the Sinnamanūr Plates.

Pandyadhiraja Parameswara Palsalai-Mudukudumi-Peruvaludi.

Kalabhra Interregnum.

1. Kadungon Pandyadhiraja.

2. Adhiraja Maravarman Avanisulamani.

3. Seliyan Sendan.

4. Maravarman Arikesarin Asamasaman; defeated the army of Velveli at Nelveli.

5. Kochchadaiyan Ranadhira; fought the battle of Marudur; defeated the Maharatha in the City of Mangalapuram.

6. Arikesarin Parankusa Maravarman Ter-Maran; defeated the Pallava at Kulumbur; conquered the Pallavas at Sankaramangai; Rajasimha I defeated Pallavamalla; renewed the walls of Kudal, Vanji and Koli.

7. Jatila Nedunjadayan Parantaka; defeated the Kadava at Pennagadam; (donor of the Velvikudi grant) A.D. 769—70.

8. Rajasimha II.

9. Varaguna-Maharaja; Jayantavarman (?)

10, Srimara Srivallabha Ekavira Parakramakolahala; conquered Maya-Pandya, Kerala, Simhala, Pallava and Vallabha; Pallavabhanjana.

11. Varagunavarman; ascended the throne A. D. 862—863.

12. Parantaka ' iranarayana Sadaiyan; fought at Kharagiri and destroyed Pennagadam; married Vanavan Mahadevi, *Jatila Nedunjadayan* (donor of the Madras Museum and smaller Sinnmanur plates ?)

13. Rajasimha (III) Mandara Gaurava Abhimana Meru.

Provisional list of the later Pandyan Kings of Tinnevelly prepared by the Government Epigraphist and embodied in G. O. dated, 28th July, 1910, No. 665 Public.

Name.	Initial Date.	Relationship if any to the predecessor or predecessors.
1 Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Dēva ...	A. D. 1365	...
2 Parākrama Pāṇḍya ...	„ 1384	...
3 Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara ...	„ 1395	...
4 Arikēsari Parākrama-Pāṇḍya 5 Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya ...	„ 1422	...
6 Alagan Perumāl Kulasēkhara	„ 1430	Younger brother of No. 4
7 Vīra Pāṇḍya ...	„ 1437	...
8 Do. ...	„ 1475	...
9 Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Kulasēkhara Dēva ...	„ 1479	...
10 Parākrama Pāṇḍya ...	„ 1516	...
11 Jaṭila Varman Srīvallabha or Abhirāma-Parākramā and 12 Māravarman Sundra-Pāṇḍya	„ 1533	...
13 Kulasēkhara or Perumāl Parākrama and 14 Vikrama Pāṇḍya ...	„ 1543	Son of 11
15 Konērinmaikondān Kulasēkhara Dharmaperumāl ..	„ 1550	do.
16 Srīvallabha Ativīrarāman ...	„ 1562	Son of 15
17 Kulasēkhara Parākrama Alagan Chokkan ...	„ 1572	...
18 Abirāma Varatungarāma and 19 Vīra Pāndya ...	„ 1586	...
20 Sivāla-Māran ...	„ 1615	...

LIST OF PANDYAN COINS.

1 A. E. *Obverse* :—Two fish in a perpendicular position, in bold relief.

Reverse :—Legend in old Tamil characters ஸ்ரீ அவனீப சேகரன் கோளக : Srī Avanīpa Sēkaran Kōḷaka.

2 A. E. *Obverse* :—Single fish in a perpendicular position between a sceptre and a lamp with the state-umbrella above.

Reverse :—Tamil legend: அவனீபேந்திரன் : Avanīpēndiran.

3 A. E. *Obverse* :—Two fish crossed, with a sceptre in the angle on the right, a *chank*—the conch-shell—in that on the left and the crescent in the angle at the top and the Tamil syllable சு. *Su.* in the angle below.

Reverse :—Tamil legend: கச்சி வழங்கும் பெருமாள் : Kacchi-Vaḷangumperumāl. Above the legend is the 'crescent.' All these are encircled by a ring of dots.

4 A. E. *Obverse* :—Same as No. 3 but with a *trisûlam* (three forked spear) instead of the Tamil syllable "Su."

Reverse :—Same as No. 3.

5 A. E. *Obverse* :—Same as No. 3 but a dot within a lined circle takes the place of the syllable "Su."

Reverse :—Same as No. 3.

6 A. E. *Obverse* :—Same as No. 3 but a dagger appears in the left-angle and a *chank* (conch-shell) in the angle below.

Reverse :—Same as No. 3.

7 A. E. *Obverse* :—Same as No. 3 but a dot takes the place of the conch shell.

Reverse :—Under a state-umberlla flanked by *châmaras* and separated from these Emblems by a straight horizontal row of dots is the Tamil legend கனிய...ண...வீ...பா : Kaniya...na...vī...pā.

8 A. E. *Obverse* :—Two fish separated by a sceptre with the crescent above them. The space between the margin and the fish is ornamented with a floral device.

Reverse :—Under a state umbrella flanked by *châmaras* is the Tamil legend கோதண்டராமன் Kōdaṇḍarāman.

9 A. E. *Obverse* :—Same as No. 8.

Reverse :—Tamil legend: கலியுகராமன் : Kaliyugarāman. Above the legend is the state-umbrella flanked by *châmaras* as in No. 7.

10 A. E. *Obverse* :—The Vishnupāda, (the feet of Vishnu) supported by two serpents. Above this device appears the state-umbrella flanked by *châmaras*.

Reverse :—Same as No. 9.

11 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure of King in regal robes similar to that which forms the distinctive obverse of Sinhalese coins.

Reverse :—Tamil legend: Kulasêkaran குலசேகரன். Below the legend and separated from it by a horizontal line appear two fish with a sceptre separating them.

12 A. E. *Obverse* :—Elephant passant within a ring of dots.
Reverse :—Same as No. 11.

13 A. E. *Obverse* :—Seated figure of King in regal robes with the Nagari legend राज राज Rāja Rāja.
Reverse :—Two fish separated by a sceptre. Below them is the legend in two lines
(கு)லசேகர : (Ku)lasêkara.
(கு)லசேக : (Ku)lasêka.

14 A. E. *Obverse* :—Same as No. 13.
Reverse :—Tamil legend in two lines குல : Kula.
குல : Kula.

15 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure of King in regal robes facing the right.
Reverse :—Two fish in a perpendicular position surrounded by the Tamil legend எல்லாந்தலையனானன் : Ellāntalaiyanānān.

16 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure of King in regal robes as in No. 15 with the Tamil syllable சு : "Su" : (standing for "Sundara.")
Reverse :—Same as No. 15.

17 A. E. *Obverse* :—Same as No. 15 but with the Tamil syllable ய : Ya : in the place of the syllable "Su."
Reverse :—Same as No 15.

18 A. E. *Obverse* :—Similar to No. 15.
Reverse :—A fish flanked by two lamps and the Tamil legend around எல்லாந்தலையனானன் : Ellāntalayanānān.

19 A. E. *Obverse* :—Similar to No. 15.
Reverse :—Two fish in a perpendicular position with the legend distributed between and around them எல்லாந்தலையனானன் : Ellāntalayanānān.

20 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure of King in regal robes with the syllable சு "Su."

Reverse :—Tamil legend எல்லாந்தலையனானான் : Ellāntalayanānān.

21 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure of King in regal robes facing the right.

Reverse :—Tamil legend சோனாடு கொண்டான் : Sōṇāḍukoṇḍān.

22 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figures as in No. 21 to the right of two fish separated by a sceptre.

Reverse :—Tamil legend to the right of seated figure of King செகவீரராமன் : Sekavīrarāman.

23 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure of King with a lamp to its left.

Reverse :—Seated figure with Tamil legend : சேரகுல ராமன் : Chērakularāman.

24 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure as in No. 23.

Reverse :—Seated figure of King with Tamil legend to its left பூதலவீ : Bhūtalavī (Bhūtalavīran).

25 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure as in No. 23.

Reverse :—Seated figure with legend to its left பூதல Bhūtala. Two fish in a perpendicular position appear below the legend.

26 A. E. *Obverse* :—Two fish in a perpendicular position separated by a sceptre, with the 'crescent' above.

Reverse :—Tamil legend சுந்தர பாண்டியன் : Sundra Pāṇḍyan.

27 A. E. *Obverse* :—Two fish in a perpendicular position separated by a sceptre with the crescent above and a lamp in the space between the fish and the margin.

Reverse:—Within a ring of dots and below the crescent appears in the Tamil legend சுந்தரபாண்டியன் : (Sundara Pāṇḍyan).

28 A. E. *Obverse:*—Two fish in a perpendicular position separated by a sceptre, with the state-umbrella and *châmaras* above.

Reverse:—Standing human figure with hands joined as in worship with the Tamil legend சுந்தர பாண்டியன் : "Sundara Pāṇḍyan" distributed on either side of the figure.

29 A. E. *Obverse:*—Standing figure of King in regal robes.

Reverse:—Tamil legend சுந்தரபாண்டியன் : "Sundara Pāṇḍyan," below a fish and a dagger in a horizontal position.

30 A. E. *Obverse:*—Similar to No. 29.

Reverse:—Tamil legend to left of seated figure of King : சுந்தர பாண்டியன் : Sundara Pāṇḍyan. Between the legend and the seated figure are the Nagari syllables रा. रा.: Rā. Rā. standing for Rāja Rāja.

31 A. E. *Obverse:*—Boar passant facing the right with the Sun and the Moon above.

Reverse:—Two fish separated by a sceptre with the Tamil legend: சுந்தர பாண்டியன் : Sundara Pāṇḍyan.

32 A. E. *Obverse:*—Standing figure of King facing the right holding a *trisûlam* or a three forked sceptre in its right arm.

Reverse:—A figure similar to that on the obverse, seated, with the Tamil legend ச : "Sa" to its left.

33 A. E. *Obverse:*—Same as No. 32 but with a diamond shaped device to the left of the figure.

Reverse :—Seated figure as in No. 32 with a hatchet to its left and the syllable ச: "Sa": above the hatchet.

34 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing human figure in regal robes facing the right.

Reverse :—Elephant passant facing the right with the Tamil syllable மா : Mā : with the Chank and Chakram—the conch and the discus—above.

35 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure of King facing the right the lower half of the figure having the shape of a Chank, with the Sun on the left and the Moon on the right of the figure.

Reverse :—Elephant passant right, supporting a standard.

36 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure of King in regal robes.

Reverse :—Elephant passant facing the left with the Chank and Chackaram—the conch and the discus—above and the syllable மா : Mā : between the conch and the discus and the Tamil syllable மா : Mā.

37 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure of King in regal robes.

Reverse :—The same figure seated on a throne with the syllable த : ta : to its left.

38 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure as in No. 37.

Reverse :—Two fish in a perpendicular position, separated by a daggar and flanked by lamps. Tamil legend above வீர பாண்டியன் : Vīra Pāṇḍyan.

39 A. E. *Obverse* :—Two fish in a perpendicular position separated by a sceptre.

Reverse :—Recumbent bull facing the right with a lamp in front; above these are a fish and the crescent.

40 A. E. *Obverse :*—Two fish separated by a sceptre with umbrella above.

Reverse :—Tamil legend ...வேம பெருமாள் : ...Vēmaperumāl.

41 A. E. *Obverse :*—A drawn bow with an arrow; a standard to the right of this device.

Reverse :—Seated figure of King in regal robes.

42 A. E. *Obverse :*—The figure of the Garuḍa—the anthropoid kite—facing the right with the Chank and Chakram—the conch and the discus—above.

Reverse :—Tamil legend : சமரகோலாகலன் : Samarakōlākalan.

43 A. E. *Obverse :*—Garuḍa advancing to the right with a canopy above.

Reverse :—Tamil legend in three lines : புவனேக வீரன் : Bhuvanēkavīran.

44 A. E. *Obverse :*—Bull passant left with a dagger in front.

Reverse :—Tamil legend in three lines : கோனேரி ராயன் : Konērirāyan.

45 A. E. *Obverse :*—Dancing figure facing the right.

Reverse :—Grandha legend : வீரபத்ர : Vīrabhadra.

46 A. E. *Obverse :*—Two fish in a perpendicular position separated by a sceptre.

Reverse :—Tamil legend விஸ்வநாத : Visvanāda : with the sun and moon above.

47 A. E. *Obverse :*—Standing figure of King with a lamp below the left arm.

Reverse :—Two fish separated by a sceptre The Tamil legend விஸ்வநாத Visvanāda distributed on either side of the fish in the margin between each fish and the edge. Above the legend 'Visvanāda' appears the crescent.

48 A. E. *Obverse* :—The Tamil legend விஸ்வனாதன் Visva-nānan with the cresent above.

Reverse :—Two fish in a perpendicular position with the Tamil legend above: பாண்டி-யன் : Pāṇḍyan.

49 A. E. *Obverse* :—Standing figure in regal robes.

Reverse :—The Tamil syllable "சு" "Su"

50 A. E. *Obverse* :—Same as No. 49

Reverse :—The Tamil legend சுந்த-பா, Suṇda-pā.

51 A. E. *Obverse* :—Same as No. 49

Reverse :—The Tamil legend ண்டியன் ṇḍiyan.

T. DESIKACHARI.

MUSIC IN ANCIENT INDIA

A STUDY IN THE RAMAYANA.*

BY

MR. C. TIRUMALAYYA NAIDU, M.R.A.S.

'ROLL back symphony, opera, oratorio, Beethoven, Bach, all the great men that have lived for the art; violin, dulcimer, drum, every musical instrument ever invented; all the arts, all the culture and civilization that have grown up cheek by jowl with the art by itself; roll back all these into primeval night; and leave as the only actor standing—a man, given then a man and the universe, the problem is—How should the man proceed to the manufacture of music?' This question has been answered variously by various scholars, and is still the engrossing theme of the musical antiquary who loves to dwell in his own macrocosm of delightful sounds which appeal to him far more powerfully than anything else in this microcosm of multitudinous interests. But it has all the same equally interested the lay man whose curiosity early led him to attribute the origin of music to the gods who were believed to sway mankind by their portentious acts, and the philosopher who viewed the subject from his lofty pedestal of logic and science, without being a slave to superstitions, which often meet and gratify the innermost longings of the heart, offer certainties where they can only afford possibilities for probabilities, and supply

* This is a Paper read at the annual meeting of the Tamilian Archæological Society, held on 28th April 1911, at Pachayappa's Hall, Madras.

conceptions on which the imagination most fondly dwells. The *Speech* theory of Spencer, the *Sexual Feeling* theory of Darwin, and the *Rhythmic* theory of Wallascheck have found prominent place in the consideration of the origin of primitive music. In the early infancy of man, prayers were offered to what we now know as the inexorable laws of nature. It was in offering such prayers that the aid of music or what passed for music in those days was invoked to appease the anger or pacify the malevolence of cruel invisible agencies which threatened him with destruction. A close kinship can thus be traced between the early musical, and religious consciousness of man. Both take their rise in the 'mystical impulse' in which emotion predominates. It was probably a bundle of such superstitious impulses that provoked the early Hindu bards into bursting forth into those hymnal chants in praise of the sun, moon and elements, that were the first foundations of that musical system which had later on been developed with such great accuracy of conception. The hymns of the Rig and the Sama Vedas are the earliest examples of words set to music. Though it is difficult to trace minutely the stages of evolution music had passed through, before it was brought under a system of rules governing its practice, still it may be safely asserted that it had already passed beyond the stage of mere recitation and declamation. By the time of the Ramayana, it was sufficiently developed so as to be indispensable as an adjunct to poetry in the recitation of ballads. The early bards who indulged in the lighter forms of poetical and musical compositions, animated by the enchanting scenery of the wild romantic regions of India, which helped the development of sentiment and imagination, willingly dedicated themselves to the muses, 'like the grasshopper that sings all summer without food, to the entire oblivion of the more common concerns of life.' They were thus enabled to invent a species of poetry which, set to music, inspired new life. It was this recognition of the relation of poetry to music that is perhaps one of the many causes of the superiority of Sanskrit poetry, which had so skilfully adapted artistic

means to artistic ends. Music and poetry has thus become associated with each other especially in India, where they both became early subservient to religion, and where a study of it was taken up by the Rishis, 'whose aspirations found vent in measured numbers and varied tone.'

'The Ramayana' says Mr. Cust, 'is no dull volume of exploded and abortive philosophy, no vast commentary which it makes the head-ache only to open and glance at, but a noble epic poem, fresh and original.' It was the first epic poem of Valmiki, the earliest of the Indian poets who composed it in stately *Anushtup* metre. It was the immediate offspring of the emotion of grief which agitated the sage, on hearing the lamentations of the pair of *Crouncha* birds, one of which was wantonly shot by a hunter, as they were sporting together, and which caused him to vent forth his imprecations in the *sloka* form, this account corroborating to some extent what is known as the emotional theory of music. Valmiki was thus the first poet and composer combined in one. After finishing the poem, he did not at first know what means he was to adopt, to popularise it. Unlike Homer who is supposed to have sung his own epics himself, Valmiki turned to the deserted sons of Rama, whom he instructed to recite it, in all the beauty of its melodious metre and enthralling music, and who were in every way fitted for the task 'as bearing upon their persons the signs of their noble origin, ravishing beauty equal to the gods, voices fresh from heaven, notes borrowed from the choir of the angel.' The great poem was sung among the hermitages, charming all hearers, and exciting alternately their compassion and admiration. The heavenly music sung so admirably by the boy musicians drew tears from the learned audience, 'as the noble epic wandered from grave to gay, leading the passions in gentle control, now melting to pity, now rousing to enthusiasm.' As the music ceased, they burst forth in a chorus of praise, and exclaimed in a state of ecstasy 'Oh! the mellifluous music and the superior beauty of the slokas! Oh! the poem whose incidents which

happened long ago appear, in their true colouring as if brought before our very eyes.' Mr. Cust describes the whole scene in his own most felicitous manner. 'One day the steps of the noble youths were led to the royal city of Ayodhya. There, in his solitary throne, sat the widowed and childless hero, he that had conquered himself and his enemies; round him were ranged his brothers, the faithful Lakshmana, and the still more faithful brother Bharata, and the Brahmans and the citizens, and when in this noble crowd sounded the harmonious and majestic lines from the voices of these boys, the great hero himself was overpowered by the memory of his achievements, thus nobly recorded, thus divinely rehearsed: strong feeling sprung up in his bosom towards those wondrous twins in whom he could recognise his own lineaments, blended with those of the long-lost Videhi. On the rest of the assembly so softly fell the notes that, when the boys ceased, all, old and young, thought them still speaking, and continued listening, as if entranced. They began to feel indeed, what fame was, and blessed the poet, that could give immortality to the deeds of the hero.'

If it be asked what were the qualities of the poem that so enchanted the learned assembly of the Rishis, we have no hesitation in saying that it was due to its simple metre, with its easy flow, the agreeable melody, which was sung without effort; an unpretending accompaniment, a rhythm which was easily followed; a correct and distinct accentuation; words which were inspired by natural sentiment and above all, a highly poetic imagination which conceived and presented things which occurred long ago, with a true fidelity. The essence of true song being 'concentrated emotion enthraling words and music alike, suffusing them with its own hues, the range of the poet's sympathetic intuition made it possible to enter into the very heart and mind of the audience. He produced, with scrupulous art all that ran in his mind, 'be it ever so subtle and delicate, and permeated it with a deeper shade of meaning.' 'What a true poet, produces,' says a critic, 'may

greatly delight and astonish his readers, yet not so greatly as it delights and astonishes himself. His passages of pathos draw no tears so deep or so sweet as those that fall from his own eyes, while he writes; his sublime passages overawe no soul so imperiously as his own; his humour draws no laughter so wild or so deep as that stirred within his own breast.' It was such a consummate knowledge of the relationship between musical and metrical laws that enabled Valmiki to produce a wonderful strain of pathetic verse which set to music of an enrapturing kind, had justified the saying that 'it is time alone that can produce man of genius and breathe the inspiration of great events.' He was truly a child of the "times" vividly reflecting the dominant emotions of the hour and the scene in which he lived, and in the words of Emerson, 'a heart in unison with his time and country.'

'True art and poetry', says Schlegel, 'are the beautiful crown, the promising blossoms, yea, the very flowers of hope, on the nobly-grown tree of humanity, as it widely expands itself in rich and marvellous intellectual development.' True poetry is the most universal of all arts, as it very often springs 'indigenous' in other domains of art, in each of which there is a predominence of 'some kind of higher feeling.' A deep feeling and an exquisite sense of beauty were both exhibited by Valmiki to the eye 'in the combinations of form,' and to the ear in sweet strains of appropriate melody. His art consisted in those sublime touches which depicted emotion in all its variety of working. While the natural and artifical blended and harmonized in their true colouring, he had always subordinated art to nature, in the study of which, he was 'dutiful and affectionate.' His communion which nature was 'direct, thoughtful, and imaginative.' It was only such an affectionate love of nature and natural objects that enabled him to paint so truly and passionately the minutest beauties of the external world. 'Whoever the author is,' says Cust, 'he must have been a dweller of the forest.' Valmiki had indeed trodden alone, and in deep contemplative mood, the

deep forests of India untrodden by the foot of man, and unpierced by solar rays, and had observed in their native home, the strange trees which towered high in silent grandeur and appeared to hold communion with the heavens in their gigantic majesty; those sweet smelling flowers and grasses which wasted their fragrance 'on the desert air'; the silent wanderings of fierce carnivora which devastated the whole country by their unceasing ravages; the deep humming of the insect world, which enchanted the scenery all round. He was peculiarly susceptible to nature's music, which he describes with unabated enthusiasm and real feeling. The notes of the lark, the delicious musical frenzy of the nightingale, and the sweet warblings of the cuckoo and the peacock were enough to rouse his musical susceptibilities to their highest pitch. 'The forests were alive with the music of the bees and the dancing of the peacocks. The sweet humming of the bees which reminded one of stringed music, was accompained by the croaking of the frogs at regular intervals, which appeared as if they kept time to the stringed music of the bees, and by the grave thunder of the clouds which resembled the sweet sounds of *Mridanga*; the music was kept up by the delightful cooings of the cuckoos, and the well measured dances of peacocks; the forest looked like a big drinking saloon, overflowing with fresh torrents after the rain, filled with abundant foliage and sweet-smelling grasses and flowers and with peacocks which cooed and danced like drunkards intoxicated with liquors': (Kishkindha Kanda, Sarga 28, Slokas 18, 28, 34, 36, 37). Even when describing the uproar and the terrific sounds on the battle-field, he could not but use the language of music of which he was so passionately fond. 'The music of the battle-field which was so awfully forced on the ear, was supplied by the terrific twangings and crash of the bows, which took the place of stringed instruments, while the tune was kept by the hiccoughs of the dying heroes, and the low moanings of the elephants supplied the vocal music': (Yudha Kanda, Sarga 52, Sloka 24½). Ravana boasting of his great valour on the battle field and addressing the foremost generalissimos of his army, says 'entering on the wide stage

of this battle-field, which is swarming with the army of my bitter enemies, I shall now play upon the lute of my terrific bow with the sticks of my arrows, whose bowstrings shall produce the most tumultuous noise, which will swell the helpless cries of the awestruck warriors. (Yudha Kanda, Sarga 24, Sloka 44.)

A musical critic writing about the songs of Russia remarks 'From the cradle to the grave, song is the constant companion of the Russian's life. It is the delight of both sexes and of every age. The sports of childhood, the pleasures of youth, and all the varied occupations of mature years have each their own appropriate accompaniment of song.' If this is so with the Russians, it is no less so with the Hindus whose susceptibility to poetic sentiment and religious fervour has early begotten in them an insatiable love for music, which they manifested even in ordinary concerns of life. Leaving alone hymnal chants and devotional songs sung at rituals, there are ceremonial songs sung at betrothals, marriages, christenings and funerals, not to speak of the folksongs of wandering minstrels who are the first recorders of historial events and who celebrate in song the heroic exploits of warrior-chieftains and of notorious highwaymen and brigands, and of the many pathetic and mirthful love-songs provoked by the true love and heroic death of many a village Romeo and Juliet. Whether all or any of these ever existed or were sung in ancient India we have no precise means of ascertaining. No body of such songs has been preserved for us. There is no doubt, however, that many of the customs on which they were based, were prevalent in early times. We read in the Ramayana, that, early on the morning of the day on which Rama was to have been installed, the usual paraphernalia of palace attendants, were in due attendance on Dasaratha (who however died on the previous night) with the necessary bathing and toilette requisites. There were the ever-ready court-panygerists whose loud recitations rent the place with their deafening

sounds. While some were singing the virtues of the ancient kings of the solar dynasty, some were engaged in beating time with their hands. There were also vocalists and Vina players, who joined them in swelling the chorus (Ayodhya Kanda, Sarga 65, Slokas 1 to 6). Bands of minstrels formed an important adjunct to palace service, and were in attendance on the king not only on ceremonial occasions but were engaged in these duties both every morning and evening. Of course there were also singers, and instrument players who were indispensible on all ceremonial occasions. Music was equally indispensible on occasions of religious sacrifices, as on occasions such as the birth of the royal children, their christening, coronations, etc. (Bala Kanda, Sarga 18, Sloka 18, and Sarga 13, Sloka 3.)

Even in the remotest regions of Kishkindha, music was incessantly heard. Rama listened, from the top of Rishyamuka hill, to the voices singing to the accompaniment of the *Mridanga*, and to the hilarious dancing of the monkey-subjects of Kishkhinda. (Kishkhinda Kanda, Sarga 37, Sloka 27.) As Lakshmana entered the inner apartments of Sugrîva's harem, he heard the ravishing strains of music that was played on the *Vîna* and other stringed instruments and which was accompanied by the faultless singing of accomplished singers who were so expressive as to make every word, and even every syllable intelligible, which blended with the instrumental music in perfect harmony (Kishkhinda Kanda, Sarga 33, Sloka 20½). In describing the conversation between Hanuman and Rama, on their first meeting, Valmiki could not but express it in the language of music. 'Rama, when he was listening to Hanuman as he was speaking, found that he (Hanuman) always kept to his chest-voice, without attempting to force himself into higher pitch, and delivered himself in neither too rapid nor too slow movement,' such a movement being necessary to ensure the sympathy of the vocal chords with which the tones and tissues of a well-inflated chest would vibrate. (Kishkhinda Kanda, Sarga 3,

Sloka 31.) He appears as if he were describing here a singing voice rather than a speaking voice and probably intended to suggest that such a studied intonation implied no ordinary musical training of the voice. Equally noteworthy is his insistence of good and distinct pronunciation of words set to music, with a view to their clear intelligibility. Though, for singing purposes, the elements of language are reducible to a small compass, still accurate pronunciation goes a great deal to make the music intelligible. A musical critic observes: 'Peculiarity and indistinctness of pronunciation are too great and well-known barriers to the adequate enjoyment of vocal music; the first because it is constantly drawing the attention from what ought to be almost ethereal and the second, because it sets the hearer thinking what it is all about and the moment he begins to think, he ceases to feel.' It is the province of the singer to purify the sounds of the language to its utmost. It was this aspect of singing that Valmiki emphasized, with a view to bring the character of the music within the easy comprehension of the people. He attached equal importance to music and words to which it was set. (Bala Kanda, Sarga 4, Slokas 8, 17½, 18½, 19½, 20½; Ayodhya Kanda, Sarga 81, Sloka 27.) Some of the wives of Ravana were extremely clever in interpreting the words which constituted the song (Sundara Kanda, Sarga 11, Sloka 7). This probably refers to the various kinds of interpretation which words are capable of, according as they are sung in different keys (*jâtis* in the language of Valmiki) or in different styles.

Laws of phonetics were early studied as an art, with a view to ensure a correct recitation of the Vedic texts. At the time when the Ramayana was written, it might be supposed to have reached the stage of regulated declamation which was generally accompanied by instruments with stretched strings that were either plucked or struck. It was already regarded as indispensable as a course of study by the enlightened. The art of music was then known as the *Gandharva* (Ayodhya Kanda, Sarga 2, Sloka 35) which was studied as a

branch of polite literature by the royalties. According to Bharata, it comprehended instrumental music, both of stringed and other kinds, and was of three kinds, according as it treated of *Swara* (notes), *Laya* (time-measure) and *Pada* (words). (Bharata Natya Sastra, page 302). It was royal patronage that was the cause of its elevation to a dignified position among the fine arts, which were then known as the "Vyharika Silpas" (*i.e.*) arts which have pleasure or recreation for their object. Rama had an expert knowledge of the fine arts (Ayodhya Kanda, Sarga 1, Sloka 28). When Dasaratha proposed to his subjects that Rama should be installed as the Yuvaraj or Crown Prince, the latter were only too glad to accept him as their *de facto* ruler and supported the proposal by commending, among other virtues which qualified Rama for the new office, his great proficiency in the science and art of music (Ayodhya Kanda, Sarga 2, Sloka 35). It was the chastening ~~and~~ humanising character of music which was calculated to evoke in a ruler well versed in it sympathy and anxious solicitude for his subjects. It was this aspect of music which the subjects of Dasaratha emphasised by referring to Rama's proficiency in music as a superior merit in one who was destined to take an active part in the administration of the country. Ravana was also a great master of music. It was his sublime chanting of Vedic hymns that appeased Siva, whom he offenced in one of his haughty moods. At the great banquet given by Bharadhwaja in honor of Bharata, the guests were regaled with the exciting music of stringed instruments of various kinds. (Ayodhya kanda, Sarga 91, Sloka 26). Some of the wives of Ravana were experts in the art of vocal and instrumental music (Sundara Kanda, Sarga 10, Sloka 32).

Dancing like music, was much patronised in those days. No prudery was displayed by hypercritical men, and every science and art grew and flourished in the healthy atmosphere of innocent enjoyment. Few were prepared to follow the absurd modern puritanical dictum of 'morals before art or pleasure'. A professional class of dancing women was called

into existence, who catered to the artistic requirements of the people. (Bala Kanda, Sarga 10, Sloka 5). Among others, eminent painters, sculptors, and dancing masters were directed to be present at the great Horse sacrifice, by Vasishta (do. Sarga 17, Sloka 7). On the day of the christening of the sons of Dasaratha, the city of Ayodhya was ringing with the music of vocal and instrumental players, of dancing women and their masters (Bala Kanda, Sarga 18, Sloka 18). On the day of Rama's installation, a number of beautifully dressed dancing women together with their masters who accompanied them with cymbals in their hands were ordered to assemble in the second court-yard of the palace(Bala Kanda, Sarga 3, Sloka 17). On hearing of the return of Rama to Ayodhya, Bharata ordered a big procession of his subjects, among whom there were expert musicians and dancing women, to start from the city and receive him with greetings. Rama was preceded by bands of musicians and instrumental players who greeted him with welcome songs, on the occasion of his state entry into Ayodhya. (Yudha Kanda, Sarga 131, Slokas, 3,18,37). Such was the high state of civilization of the times that, in addition to those sources of recreations, there were excellent theatrical companies, which were a great source of pleasurable excitement to the public. In those companies renowned actresses took part (Bala Kanda, Sarga 5, Sloka 12). Among the large concourse of people who accompanied Bharata, to bring back Rama from his forest sojourn, there were also actors and actresses (Ayodhya Kanda, Sarga 83, Sloka 15). In those days female parts in dramatic representations were enacted only by females, and not by males as is sometimes done at present. This is in accordance with the opinion of Bharata that "females make the best singers, as they are endowed by nature with sweet and flexible voice, while males have a more or less expressive voice and are better qualified to be teachers of music than singers themselves. To suppose that males can sing sweetly and that females will make good teachers, is nothing but rhetoric and is not their true nature." (Bharata Natya Sastra, page 407.)

I have thus far outlined the circumstances that tended to promote the growth and development of musical taste in those days, which cannot but point to the high degree of civilization attained in this direction. The musical art which corresponded to the lively sensibility of the people was fostered under the benign care of enlightened royal patrons who were themselves great masters of the art. Vocal music is said to be the oldest branch of the art of music, and recitations by bards commemorative of the exploits of heroes are a later development of vocal music. But such recitations which are intended to excite the close attention of the people, would naturally fall flat, if unaccompanied by instrumental music of some kind or other. We accordingly find that different varieties of the *Vîna* had early become popular as an accompaniment, just as the lyre was the common accompaniment among the Greeks. It is, however, impossible at this distance of time, to precisely estimate the true character of the music to which the Ramayana was set. Judging from the description as given by Valmiki, it must have been of a very simple kind. There is no mention of the word *Râga* in the musical sense in the Ramayana. It is a peculiar growth of later times, as it is peculiar to the land of its birth. But in its place, a system of what were known as *jâtis* came to be early devised. We read that the twins Kusa and Lava sang the poem in such a way that the music was highly melodious, the time being varied not only in the three different kinds of movements *viz. Druta, Madhya* and *Vilambita* (corresponding in modern, phraseology to *presto, allegro* and *andante*) as the nature of the subject demanded, but also in the *seven* different *jâtis*, or, (as we would now call, *Râgas* or *Keys* in the technical phraseology of the modern Western music), and accompanied by the *Vîna* with which it was in perfect tune. They were such great proficients in the art of music that they could, with facility, modulate from one note to another through several subordinate transitions which touched the three keys or octaves. (Bala Kanda, Sarga 4, Slokas 8 and 9). The mentoin

of the word *jâti* here is significant. The *jâtis* were at this time only seven in number although Bharata mentions eighteen different kinds of *jâtis*, (*vide* Bharata Natya Sastra, page 307). Judging from the *gitas*, specimens of which are given in the Sangita Ratnakara, a *gita* belonging to the the *Shadji jâti*, began with the note Shadja and ended on the same note: in the *Arshabhi jâti*, the *gita* began with the note Ri, and ended on the same note, and so on. This system of transposition would be best calculated to introduce a variety of scales which were the foundation on which the huge edifice of the later system of *Râgas* was based. The Ramayana must be supposed to have been sung in these seven different *jâtis* which were varied according to the discretion of the singers, and which afforded facilities for varying qualities of melodic expression. Repeatedly encored by the learned Rishis who sat dumfounded at the perfect execution of the singers (whose very speaking was as melodious as their singing, Bala Kanda, Sarga 4, Sloka 11) and whose eyes were filled with tears of joy, they recited the story with such exquisite sweetness, and in such an expressive way, that every word was perfectly intelligible. The learned assembly complimenting them on the extensive repertory of songs at their command, said 'Oh! you adepts in music! This is the choicest of your songs whose beauty is enhanced by the use of agreeable chromatic intervals' (Balakanda, Sarga 4, Slokas 15 to 21). In describing the music at the banquet of Bharadhwaja, Valmiki displays a rare knowledge of the science. 'While bands of Apsarasas danced, the celestial musicians sang to the accompaniment of different kinds of stringed instruments which poured forth their dulcet sounds in such happy succession, that the harmony of the vocal and instrumental music was not only perfect (*Layagunanvita*) but was executed in such a pianissimo style (*Slakshna*) and in neither too rapid nor too slow movement (*Sama*) and such an expressive manner (*Uccharita*) that all animated creation was spell-bound': (Ayodhya Kanda, Sarga 91, Slokas 27 and 27). Such was the music which Valmiki was never

tired of describing in his own inimitable way. Few poets, ancient or modern, could approach him in his rare grasp of the subtilities of music and in the happy manner of his description.

Instrumental music seems to have been developed to a high degree of perfection *Bhêri*, *Dundubhi*, and *Mridanga* were big sized kettle-drums which were indispensable both in times of war and peace. They heralded royal processions, proclaimed state ceremonials, coronations, birth-day celebrations, marriage, etc. They announced the march of the contending parties, on the battle-field. Royal palaces reverberated incessantly with their deafening sounds. In the Royal palace in Ayodhya big kettle-drums (dundubhi) were played with sticks of gold at every *yâmam* (three hours) in the night. (Ayodhya Kanda, Sarga 8, Sloka 2). They probably served the purpose of hour-gongs of the present-day. *Mridanga* was of two kinds, a big-sized one played with sticks. (Ayodhya Kanda, Sarga 71, Sloka 27½), and the other, of a smaller kind, which was employed as an accompaniment to vocal music. (Sundara Kanda, Sarga 10, Sloka 42). *Pataha* was another instrument of the drum kind used also as an accompaniment to vocal music (Sundara Kanda, Sarga 10, Sloka 39.) It is explained as a side-drum covered with skin, and played, like the *Ghata*, either with stick or hand: (Sangita Ratnakara, Vol. II, page 567) *Panava* and *Dindima* were probably, other varieties of the same kind (Sundara Kanda, Sarga 10, Sloka 43 and 44). *Mudduka* was a kind of brass-trumpet played as an accompaniment. (Sundara Kanda, Sarga Sloka 38). *Adambara* was a kind of a shrill clarionet (Sundara Kanda, Sarga Sloka 45). But the more interesting of the musical instruments were those of the stringed kind. *Vina* was a general name for all kinds of stringed instruments. The *Vina* which Kusa and Lava played to the accompaniment of their voices could have been either of the *Pinaki* or the *Nissankâ* kind, which was played with a *bow*, and which would have better fitted as an accompaniment by giving out a greater volume of sound.

Bharata, on his return to Ayodhya, was surprised to find that no sounds of *Bhêri, Mridanga* and *Vína* played with sticks, were heard, as used to be the case before (Ayodhya Kanda, Sarga 71, Sloka 29.) The commentator *Govindaraja* wrongly interprets this passage as meaning that *Bheri* and *Mridanga* only were played with sticks but the *Vina* was played with the hand. He was probably not aware that there were two kinds of *Vîna*, *Chitra* and *Vipanchi* which were optionally played with sticks (or *plectrums* as we would now call them) or with the hand. *Chitra* had seven strings, and *Vipanchi*, nine, not seven as the above commentator thinks. The Sangita Ratnakara (*vide* Vol. II, page 410) says that "Chitra and Vipanchi were played both with sticks and with the hand: but some think that Chitra should be played with fingers and Vipanchi, with sticks; while others think that Chitra should be played only with the fingers, and Vipanchi with both." The *Vipanchi* variety of *Vîna* seems to have been in more common use than others. (Sundra Kanda, Sarga 10, Slokas 37 to 41). A wind instrument of the flute kind was played by some of the mistresses of Ravana (Sundara Kanda, Sarga 10, Sloka 40) while instruments of various other kinds seem to have been commonly used (Sundara Kanda, Sarga 10, Sloka 49). Bands of *Bhêri, Mridanga*, *Panava*, *Sankha* and *Vênu* attached to the armies were played on the battle-field, infusing enthusiasm into the hearts of disheartened soldiers (Yudha Kanda, Sarga 44, Sloka 42½). Such is a brief sketch of the state of musical development in the days of the Ramayana, which is really astonishing, when we consider that the incidents delineated in the stories are supposed to have taken place nearly five-thousand years ago —a period supposed to be of cimmerian darkness in the history of the world, compared with the modern times.

The Ramayana may be considered to be the earliest national ballad of the country. We see in it the customs, feelings and superstitions of the age truly portrayed by a master-hand. In those days when there were no newspapers

to convey news, and no printed books available for easy information, it was such ballads that were instruments of knowledge and education to the people of the country. Thus preserved from oblivion, it has passed from generation to generation, with littte alteration, till it is in the mouth of every one who feels as if the events recorded therein were but of yesterday's occurrence. There is no doubt that the one source of its great popularity is that it is the work of a man who was not divorced by wealth or rank or education from the mass of his fellows, but whose education came straight from nature, from which he derived his homely pathos and humour, simplicity and charm. It is this that invests it with a halo of sanctity which is denied to other works of a similar kind. Its perennial interest is in its smooth flow of diction and simple rhythm which everybody is able to appreciate.

The Origin
of the
Cranganur (Kodungallur) Temple.

BY

MR. T. PONNAMBALAM PILLAI, M.R.A.S.

TOWARDS the closing days of the month of March when the sun was beginning to be oppressive, I was one morning sitting in the cool verandah of the P—C—shaded by a solitary, but stately Pipal, poring over musty tomes to explain a crux in one of the masterpieces of Tamil literature, and then I espied a large number of huge canoes fully laden with human cargo, and croaking cocks roosting over their cadjan tents; they were sailing by the grand waterway in front of the tree, flying the pennons of the goddess Badrakāḷy. The passengers were making themselves merry by singing at the top of their voice. On enquiry, I learnt that they were all bound for Koḍungallūr in the Cochin State for the *Meena Baraney* festival. It struck me then that an historical account—divested of all supernatural elements,—of the origin of the famous temple at this place—the Muziris of the ancient Greeks and Cranganur of later European writers, as told by early Tamil authors, must be of interest on this side of the Ghauts, and I have therefore taken the trouble of collating the following.

A reprint from the Malabar Quarterly Review, with kind permission. (Ed.)

My account is from two of the most ancient Tamil classics by name *Chilappathikâram* and *Manimêkalai,* and a recent popular work known as *Kôvalan Kâthai.* The author of the first mentioned work—"Chapters on Anklet" was a younger brother of the Chēra king Cheṅkuṭṭuvan and a son of his predecessor Chēralāthan. This prince had, in his early years, renounced the pleasures of this life, entered the order of monks, and lived at the time when the work was written in a monastery called *Kunavâyil Kôttam*—meaning "palace or temple at the eastern gate." The other work was composed by Chāthan, a dealer in grains. He was a profound scholar, an eminent critic, and a member of the third or last Academy at Madura and a *protegé* of the Chēra royal family, who were known to patronize all liberal learning.

The name Kodungallur is a corrupt form of the compound Tamil word Koḍum-kōlūr, which is made up of Koḍum = cruel or heinous, Kōḷ = offence or misfortune, Ur = city or village. Thus the word means the city of cruel crimes. Some patriotically inclined people who wish to assign to everything in Malabar a sacred Sanskrit origin, derive it from Kōḍilingapuram, "the city of a crore of *lingas.*" There is no any connection between the two, and it appears to me that the derivation of Kodungallur from Koḍumkōlūr is more natural. From the meaning of the word given above, it should not be understood that any serious offence was committed at the place; but from the following narration, it will be seen that the town and the temple of Koḍungallūr were founded to commemorate the name of the chief actress in a tragedy enacted at Madura, the ancient capital of the *ever just* Pāṇḍians.

In an historical account, one of the most important and foremost facts to be mentioned is the date. Hindu Chronology is in a chaotic state, and it is to be devoutly wished that the researches of scholars will lead to the evolvement of order. I shall, however, draw the attention of my readers to

certain landmarks in South Indian history, to enable them to fix the approximate time of the occurrence of the events I propose to narrate.

The classical works referred to do not begin with an invocation to the Deity as is generally the case in Hindu works. The adoration that is made there, is directed first to the moon, then to the sun, and lastly to rain. In the next place, both the works delight in describing the annual festival celebrated in honour of Indra, the king of the celestials. These facts would seem to indicate that they were composed in the Vedic period. It may perhaps be said that both the authors were Buddhists, and that they did not think it necessary to begin with an invocation to God. But there are a number of works admittedly of Buddhist origin, such as the ancient classics of *Jîvaka Chinthâmany,* and the modern metrical grammar and dictionary *Nannool* and *Nikandu* which begin with such an adoration. The two last mentioned works invoke the support of Arugan and the author of *Jîvaka Chinthâmany* calls to his aid the God of gods, an index of a monotheistic creed. From the foregoing it may be inferred that *Chilappathikâram* and *Manimêkalai* belong to the transition period between the Buddhistic and Puranic ages. The former makes mention of Buddhism and its high priests casually, but in a spirit of kindliness, while the latter propounds the principles of that religion in a biographical garb. *Chilappathikaram* alludes to Indra, Vishnu and his miracles, and the war-god, Kumara-vēḷ. No mention is made of Brahma in either of the works. It must also be mentioned here that the plan of these works is not on the model of Sanskrit writers in their *Kavyams,* and followed by later Tamil poets.

Chilappâthikaram and *Manimêkalai* have several references to contemporary history. As has already been mentioned, the author of the former, Iḷan-kō-aḍigal, was the younger brother of king Chenkuṭṭuvan, and both were sons of Chēralāthan. His mother was a daughter of the Chōla

king, Karikālan.* From chapter 27 of the same work there are reasons to believe that the then Pandian king, Cheliyan Sembiyan, who plays an important part in this drama, was connected with the Royal House of Chōla by marriage. The reigning king of Ceylon was Kayavāhu† who appears to have flourished, according to the history of the Island, about the middle of the first century of the Christian era.

The period of our history may also be determined by fixing the sites of the capitals of the three South Indian Potentates, Chōlan, Chēran and Pāṇḍian. At the time it begins, the chief city of the Chola kingdom was Kāvēripūm-Paṭṭinam at the mouth of the Cauvery, which was the great emporium of the East. This estuary which was a safe and noble harbour, always contained in it a large mercantile fleet, which carried on a brisk trade between the ports of the eastern coast of India and the islands of the Archipelago, Java in particular, and China. At the close of our story the town and the estuary were engulfed by the sea, or more probably, destroyed by a volcanic eruption, and the capital had to be removed to Conjevaram

I shall next speak of the capital of Chēra. The towns of Karūr in the Coimbatore District, and Tiruvanjikalam in the Cochin State, a mile from the Cranganur, were successively the capitals of that ruler, and it has to be determined which of them was the seat of the Government at the time we are speaking. It will be seen from Chapter 25 of the *Chilappathikâram* that the king set out accompanied by his queen, his heir-apparent, and his younger brother on a tour to view Nature in her naked beauty, and the first stage reached during the Royal progress was the Periyaur which "resembled the garland around the neck of Neḍiyōn" (Vishnu). It seems that the banks of this river which issued from one of the highest mountains were filled with groves of Kōngu (H. Parriflora), Vēngai (P. Marsupium), and Konrai

* Chilappathikaram, Chapter 29. † Chilappathikaram, Chapter 30.

(Cassia species) and its bed was interspersed with alluvial inlands of Arcadian charm. This, coupled with what follows, tallies with the description of the river which takes its rise in the Sivagiry mountains, joins the Idiyera at Kuthukal, and pours their united waters into the Cochin lake about ten miles from Tiruvanjikaḷam. Karur is on the confluence of the Cauvery with the Amaravathy, and if the royal party had reached the banks of either, their names would have been mentioned, for the Cauvery has been referred to elsewhere in the poem.

Again, it has been the immemorial practice of Travancore and Cochin hillmen to wait upon their Sovereigns whenever they visited the outlying portions of their dominions with presents of forest produce, and entertain them with their dances. There was no exception to this rule at the time Cheṅkuṭṭuvan visited the banks of the Periyaur. While he was sitting there with his consort and his brother on the beautiful alluvial sand brought down by the river, the hillmen gathered round him with presents of various kinds peculiar to their native forests, and the following were some of them: (1) Tusks of elephants, (2) Chips of white cedar and sandalwood, (3) Potfuls of honey, (4) Green cardamoms, (5) Arrowroot* flour, (6) Cocoanuts, (7) Mangoes, (8) Garlic, (9) Plantain bunches, (10) Areca nut bunches, (11) Young ones of elephants, (12) Tiger cubs, (13) Bears, (14) Monkeys, (15) Black monkeys, (16) Hill goats, (17) Antelopes, (18) Civet cats, (19) Peacocks, (20) Parrots, &c. I have not given a complete inventory of the fauna and flora found at the place and said to have been laid at the Royal feet. But from what has been mentioned, it will be seen that though individually the several species may be found in different parts of Southern India, all of them can be found together only on the Malabar Coast.

---

* This commercial product of *Curcuva agustifolio* is found largely on the Malabar Coast, and its native name is "*Kûvanîru*". And it is the word used in the Chilappathikaram. In the Tamil country the word "*Nîru*" is seldom used in the sense in which it has been ued. I think that the use is peculiar to Malabar. The word is spelt "*Nooru.*"

The facts which I have mentioned in the two **preceding** paras point to Vanji on the Malabar Coast, *i.e.*, Tiruvanjikaḷam, as the capital of Chēra. There are also other circumstances to confirm this opinion. It is a well-known fact that when the great famine of 1877 was stalking through the length and breadth of India carrying in its train death and desolation, the principalities of Travancore and Cochin were free from it, and they served as an asylum to myriads of starving men that repaired to them to be saved from the effects of it. This was not the only occasion on which people fled from the eastern coast of South India, under similar circumstances. In Chapter 28 of *Manimêkalai*, it is said that soon after the transfer of the seat of the Chōla Government to Conjevaram, the rains failed, the country around it was subject to famine, and man and beast were falling victims to it, and the survivors migrated to Vanji. There is not much difference between the climatic conditions of the country around Karur and Conjevaram, and there can never be an emigration from one part of the Coramandel Coast to another, on the score of famine. There is no doubt, therefore, that it was to Tiruvanjikaḷam that the famine-stricken people of the Chola country wended their way. Again, towards the close of Chapter 23 of the *Chilappathikâram*, it is said that the heroine of the poem betook herself to the dominions of Chera, by travelling westwards by the banks of the Vaigai, and entered *Malanâd* or Malabar. Again, certain female characters in the poem, who started from the Chōla capital in search of her, first went to Madura, and thence traced the same track to Vanji. I may here mention that people from the Pāṇdya country had, from early times, easy access to the kingdom of Chera through the Ghauts. The houses of Poonjat and Pandālan were in some way connected with the Royal house of the Pandians, and when they had to leave their homes and take shelter in Travancore, they had to cross the Ghauts, and in the case of the latter it is said that their way lay through Rani. As the territories of the Poonjat Chief lay on the borders of Madura,

there can be no doubt that there was easy communication between the two. The *lingam* in the temple of Alwaye* properly Alavāy, is said to have been brought through the Ghauts, and established at the place. Lastly, at the time we are speaking, king Cheṅkuṭṭuvān was also the ruler of Coorg or Kuḍagu, and it must have been inconvenient to rule it from Karur. All these facts go to prove that Vanji, the capital of Chēra, was Thiruvanjikalam, and not Karur. It is a well-recognized historical fact, that the last mentioned city was the later capital of the House of Chēra, and that the former was more ancient. I offer these rough and straggling notes to the scientific historian to arrange them methodically, and deduce his logical conclusions.

There is not much to be said about the capital of the Pandians. Though in very early times there appears to have existed a town called Madura in that part of the country south of Cape Comorin, which was washed away by the sea, the Madura of our history, which is otherwise known as Kūḍalnagar, "the city of Saṅgam," is the present city of Madura on the banks of the Vaigai which was also the capital of the Naick kings during recent times.

Now to the main facts of our story. About the beginning of the period we have endeavoured to determine, there lived in the Chola capital two merchant princes by name Māsāthuvān and Mānāigan who owned more than one half of the mercantile fleet in the harbour, and whose ancestors contributed not a little to the greatness of the city which was as great as Athens was under Pericles, or Rome under Augustus. The former had an accomplished and promising youth of sixteen for his son and the latter a sweet coy maiden of twelve, gifted with all domestic virtues, and personal charms, as her name "Jewel of Eye" indicated, for his daughter. A marriage was arranged between them by the fond parents,

* This is the capital of the Alangaud Taluq in North Travancore situated on the banks of the Periyaur. The temple is in the middle of the river, and during floods, water never rises over the sacred *lingam*. Madura also is sometimes called *Alavây*.

and it was solemnised with all the pomp due to their station. A separate mansion, furnished with all the necessaries and all the luxuries of life, was assigned to the young couple that they might conduct themselves as worthy citizens of a great metropolis. "Passing calm years of household happiness," they "gave alms to the deserving, protected those that had studied self, extended kindness to the renouncers of the pleasurers of this life, and lavished hospitality on their guests." Days rolled on thus for some years, until Kōvalan, the husband, was present at a nautch party given by the king, for the dedication of a damsel, Mathavi, to the calling of dancing. He was smitten with the beauty of the dancing girl, and became so enamoured of her as to abandon his model wife Kaṇṇaki, and spend all his time in the company of his mistress, and squander all his and his wife's wealth.

It was the practice of the king to celebrate a festival annually in honor of Indra, and the closing ceremony of "Kaḍalāṭṭu" or the sacred bath in the sea, the townspeople congregated in large numbers at the beach, and had a very merry time of it. Kōvalan and his mistress had their fill of happiness. Both of them were adepts in the art of music, and they tried to please each other by turns by playing on the guitar, and by singing. On one occasion when they were thus absorbed in the company of each other one of the songs of Māthavi created an impression in the mind of Kōvalan that her heart was set upon somebody else, notwithstanding the fact that he regarded her as the saint of his deepest devotion. He abruptly left her, and returned to his house, where his dutiful wife accosted him and enquired why he was in a gloomy state of mind. He said that he had squandered all his and her wealth, and driven her to the verge of beggary, and that this was what made him sad. On this, Kaṇṇaki thought that her husband was sorry that there was nothing left to bestow on his mistress, and said that her anklets were still with her, and that they were at his disposal. This gladdened the heart of despondent Kōvalan.

He turned to her as a penitent, and said that he would sell the anklets and start business in order to recover their lost fortunes, and for that purpose he wished to repair to Madura as he was ashamed to remain in his native city in the position to which he had reduced himself, by his evil association and thoughtlessness. He entreated Kaṇṇaki to accompany him to that great city in the south, and she who had never crossed the ways and wishes of her lord, notwithstanding his indifference towards her latterly, readily acquiesced.

It must be remembered that the parents of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki were as affluent as ever, and were prepared to replace all that was lost, provided that there was an improvement in the behaviour of the husband. In fact, deviating from the usual practise of Hindu families, separate apartments were granted to the young couple, to test if they would conduct themselves as worthy citizens, and hand down their name and fame unsullied to posterity. But Kōvalan who had not lost his self-respect, notwithstanding his association with flatterers and sycophants, backbiters and damsels of ill-repute, was determined to turn over a new leaf, and make amends for his past conduct. With this resolve, he left the place in the dead of night with Kaṇṇaki, on foot, unaccustomed as they were to such a kind of travelling.

They pushed on with their journey during the night with great difficulty, and on the following morning met a Buddhist nun by name Kavanthi Aḍigal, who proved a friend, guide and philosopher during their toilsome journey to Madura. When the youthful travellers reached Uraiyūr, a messenger from their parents and Māthavi reached their camp to inform them how wretched they felt without them and how glad they would feel if they returned to their arms. But their resolve was irrevocable. They asked the messenger to go back, and convey their respectful salutations to their parents, as they were not prepared to retrace their steps. After a tedious journey of several days during which the soft feet of Kaṇṇaki suffered much from rugged roads and thorny wastes they

6

reached the river Vaigai. For the night they halted at the Brahmin quarters, outside the Fort of Madura. On the following morning the nun enquired for a suitable residence, and pitched upon a house belonging to a good shepherdess, by name Māthavi, and explained to her who her guests were and what the laws of hospitality enjoined upon her to do for them. Māthavi, who had much of the "milk of human kindness" in her, gladly welcomed them and placed at their disposal a newly-built house in a secluded quarter, supplied them with all the necessary provisions to cook their meals, and appointed her daughter, Aiyai, to attend on Kaṇṇaki and assist her in all her domestic duties. As the daughter of a house next in rank only to royalty Kaṇṇaki had no occasion to be intimately acquainted with the culinary arts; but devotion to her lord, which is very characteristic of Hindu wives, enabled her to cook a most delicious meal. When it was ready, she assisted Kōvalan in his bath, "seated him on a square mat of the talipot palm, washed his feet in a vessel and adored them, poured down that water in all humility, and spread his food upon a tender unopened leaf of the unflowered plantain." After breakfasting and accepting betel and areca nut from his wife, Kōvalan called her to his side, embraced her and apologised to her for all the pain he had caused her, and the indignities to which he had subjected her. Naturally, both were moved at the predicament in which they had placed themselves. But Kōvalan knew that there was no use of brooding over the past, consoled his wife, took one of the anklets from her, and proceeded to the town on his "fateful errand," after commending his wife to the care of Māthavi, who collected a large number of women of her class, and kept up a dance in order to divert the mind of the unfortunate Kaṇṇaki.

During his journey, the first person of any note that Kōvalan met was the king's goldsmith, followed by one hundred others. From the jacket worn by him, the pincers and other instruments he carried with him, and other circumstances, he made him out as such, and addressed h m

thus :—"I have a jewel suitable to be worn by the consort of the king, can you estimate its value?" When he was thus accosted, he pretended to do great obeisance to Kōvalan and said that, though he was not in a position to fix the price of the ornament, he had made ornaments from kingly crowns down to the simplest of jewels. On this, unsuspecting, Kōvalan untied the parcel which he carried with him, and handed over the anklet to the goldsmith, who examind it with the cruel heart of a consummate sharper saying to himself that he had after all caught his bait. After a short inspection, his admiration became unbounded and he exclaimed "What a jewel this is, it is worthy of being worn only by the royalty." He next sought the permission of Kōvalan to take it to the king for his inspection, and requested him to tarry in the meantime in his "humble cottage." Kōvalan assented, and the goldsmith led him to a walled enclosure called "Dēva Kōṭṭam" near his house, and would not depart for the palace till he was sure that he was secure there.

Before pursuing the thread of our story further, it is necessary to digress, and inform the reader that one of the anklets belonging to the queen was given to this goldsmith to be repaired, but when he had smeared it with chalk and exposed it to the sun to be dried, a huge vulture carried it away. The goldsmith was not bold enough to inform the king of what had actually taken place, as he was not likely to be believed, but told him that somebody had carried it away stealthily, and he would replace it. When he found Kōvalan with his anklet, he made up his mind to get over his difficulty by leading him to the gallows.

Unfortunately for Kōvalan, at the time the goldsmith waited upon the Pandian, he was not in a mood to judge calmly. For, the previous night he was engaged in witnessing the performances of a dancing girl, and the Queen suspected that he was in the company of a woman of ill-repute, and naturally became jealous. This state of distemper on the part of his consort was communicated to him when he was presiding over the meeting of his cabinet. He

abruptly left the Council chamber, and went into the apartment of the Queen. While on his way thither, the goldsmith presented himself before him, and on a hurried enquiry of the cause that had taken him there, said that the thief who had stolen the Queen's anklet had taken refuge in his house, for fear of the Police. The king sent for the guardians of the peace, and directed them that in case they found the anklet with the man named by the Court jeweller, to slay him and take the jewel to him.

The Policemen at once followed the goldsmith to his house, and they found a man of gentlemanly demeanour in the walled enclosure close by. Notwithstanding the commands of the king, they hesitated to believe that he was the thief, and were not quite pleased with the work that they were charged to do. The goldsmith who was a perfect master in the art of dissimulation and roguery, lectured to the Policemen on the arts of thieves and depredators. He classified thieving into eight divisions, and gave the substance of each, in order to convince them among other things, of the demeanour and garb put on by thieves from time to time according to circumstances. The discourse was conducted beyond the hearing of Kōvalan who was thrown off his guard. The goldsmith gave him no opportunity of making an explanation, and made him believe that the officers of justice were connoisseurs deputed by the king to inspect the anklet, and to pronounce an opinion on it. Unsuspecting Kōvalan believed the goldsmith, and as the discussion went on, he was gradually led to the place of execution, and on reaching it, the myrmidons of justice were convinced that he was the thief who stole the Queen's anklet. One of the younger men drew his sword and did him to death. Leaving the body of Kōvalan weltering in blood, the executioners took their departure with the anklet, and delivered it to the king. The place where this murder was committed is between Madura and Tiruparamkunram, and the site is to the present day marked with a granite stone.

While these events were transpiring, as has already been related, the women at the shepherdess' quarters were engaged in a dance, and with the death of Kōvalan their performance also came to an end. News had slowly travelled to the place, and it was broken to Kaṇṇaki, and she learnt all. Her grief was intense, but her indignation at the injustice perpetrated by the Pāṇḍian was greater still. As a lady of the first rank at Kāvēripūm-Paṭṭinam she had never appeared in public. But goaded by the wrongs done to her she snatched the anklet that was left, and started on her mission of retribution. The poignant grief felt by this most virtuous of women, gave her the eloquence of an Antony, and on her way she went on addressing the populace, and asked the married women to say if such unheard-of injustice was ever done to a sister of theirs, in the annals of the Pandian kingdom. Her personal charms and her gentlewomanly bearing added rhetorical force to her already telling speeches. The people were convinced of the wrong done to her and of the thoughtless manner in which their sovereign had blundered. Unaccustomed as they were for ages to injustice, the indignant feelings of the populace were roused to the highest pitch.

Kaṇṇaki first proceeded to the place of execution followed by the mob, saw the body of her husband in two halves bathed in blood, and gave vent to her feelings as every Indian woman does on such occasions, so as to evoke greater sympathy from the already indignant townsmen. From there she repaired to the Palace gate, and told the guards to announce to the king that the women who had lost her husband sought an interview. Just at this moment the queen was with the king relating unpleasent dreams she had the previous night. One of the gate-keepers approached the Paṇḍian with all due form, and informed him that the widow of the man that was slain that day under his instruction, was at the threshold of the Palace with an anklet, demanding an interview. At the king's command, she was ushered into his presence tears copiously flowing down her checks.

The king addressing her asked her who she was and what took her there, and she replied as follows. "Oh king! the famous city of Kāvēripūm-Paṭṭinam is my place of nativity, and my name is Kaṇṇaki. I was wedded to Kōvalan, the son of Māsāthuvān, the great merchant prince. Impelled by the results of the deeds of our past life, we came to your great city to earn our bread, and while my lord was on his way to sell one of my anklets, he was unjustly seized, deprived of the ornament, and murdered." On hearing this, the king said, "Oh charming damsel; is it an injustice to put a thief to death?" Kaṇṇaki at once pointed out that the hollow of her anklet contained diamonds. As the Pāṇḍian was aware that the anklet worn by his wife contained pearls, he sent for the one taken from Kōvalan, and placed it before the Kaṇṇaki. Goaded by the feeling of resentment with which her heart was full, she broke it with such force, that at one blow its contents flashed with "ceaseless radiance", and diamonds of the "purest ray" were lying scattered before the king. It was then that the truth came home to Pāṇḍyan, and he gave vent to his feeling thus: "Am I king who had relied upon the words of a low goldsmith? For the first time in the history of my family, I alone failed in my duty. Let not my pulse beat." So saying he fell down from his seat unconscious, and met with his death. The Queen who was present at the interview at once prostrated herself before Kaṇṇaki crying for pity, and followed the spirit of her husband.

The scene changes. Kaṇṇaki retired from the Palace, and went into the goldsmith's quarters of the town, where the infuriated populace had assembled. In her determination to put an end to her miserable existence, and at the same time to take revenge upon her wrong-doers, she twisted round and plucked her left breast, and threw it over the house of the Court jeweller. This was the signal for action, and it was enough to rouse the pent-up feelings of the infuriated mob, who at once seized the goldsmith, lynched him, and set fire to his house.

After the performance of these heroic deeds, Kaṇṇaki did not meet with her death as she desired. She at once left Madura, travelled along the banks of the Vaigai towards its source, went into the dominions of Chera, and ended her life at the foot of a Vēngai tree (P. Marsupium) in the forest-clad slopes of the Western Ghauts. While there, the hillmen met her, and learnt from her lips all that had taken place in Madura. We have already referred to the progress of king Cheṅkuṭṭuvan towards the banks of the Periyaur to view the sylvan beauties of the place and the assembling of the hill tribes with presents. They took the occasion to communicate to the king the story of this heroine in the presence of the Queen Consort, Iḷan-kō aḍigal, the heir to the throne, and Chāttan, the scholar and critic. The latter who happened to be at Madura at the time the events we have narrated transpired, related the whole story in all its details. The king was greatly moved at the sad end of a sovereign like himself, and the Queen was interested in the account of the heroine, and requested her husband to build a temple in her honor which he erected at Koḍungalūr, the modern Cranganur. This is evident from Chapter 27 of *Chilappathikâram.* Kaṇṇaki was supposed to be an incarnation of Badrakāli, to whom therefore that temple was dedicated.

As a suitable granite stone from the Himalayas was deemed necessary to carve out the image of Kaṇṇaki, Cheṅkuṭṭuvan organised an expedition to that region to bring a slab from there. It appears that the expeditionary force which was headed by the king himself had to fight many a battle and subdue many a prince between the Ganges and the Godavary. At the request of Chāttan, the mendicant prince Iḷan-kō-aḍigal, composed the *Chilappathikâram* in verse and prose, giving a detailed account of the story which culminated in the tragedy at Madura and embodying in it the four objects of human pursuit, *viz.* virtue, wealth, pleasure and beatitude. It is generally supposed that the author did not deal with the last, and it was left to Chāttan to treat of that subject in *Manimêkalai* which is a continuation of *Chilappathikâram.*

A Note by the Editor.—From the foregoing pages, it will be seen that the birth place of the two eminent Tamil works—*Chilappadikâram* and *Manimêgalai*, among the "Five Epics," was Vanji-kalam, the capital of the ancient Chêras, not far from the modern Cranganûr. In the eyes of Châthan, a great poet and critic of the third Academy of Madura, Ilan-kô-adigal, the younger brother of the ruling king Chen-kuttuvan, was the one fitted for the task; so at his request, the latter undertook the composition of the *Chilappadikâram*. The highly finished style of the poem, the accuracy of representation and the masterliness of diction, all these unmistakably point to the genius and erudition of the author of the *Chilappadikâram*. The same Court witnessed the production of another of the Epics, the *Manimêgalai*, by Chathan himself in the presence of Ilan-kô-adigal, the said prince.

The Chêras, like their brother kings—the Pandiyas and Chôlas,—were patrons of Tamil literature; and many of them were themselves great Tamil poets, and all of them could appreciate poets and Tamil poetry. The mother tongue of the Chêras and of the country was Tamil and all the ancient Tamil literature now extant is the common property of the people residing on both sides of the Western Ghauts. The collection of Puranânûru, "The 400 lyrics," contains not less than 34 lyrics in praise of the Chêras. It is noteworthy that the first lyric with which the collection begins is an ode to a Chêra king by name of Udiyan of Bhârata fame. Another of the "Eight collections" goes by the name of the "Ten Tens" (பதிற்றுப்பத்து.) It contains hundred poems in praise of ten Chêras, each having ten stanzas addressed to him. The first and the last *Tens* have been lost in these parts. The lost portions may, we think, be found in Malabar if adequate search is made.

It may be noted here, with an apology to the reader, that the Malayalees, now-a-days, have lost all partiality for the mother-tongue; they seem to have entirely lost sight of the origin of their dialect and pride themselves in making it shine in borrowed feathers. For everything they look to Sankrit and Sankritians: thus they have stained the purity of their nationality and imported many foreign elements into their language as also into their customs and habits. The literary language of Malayalam varies much now from the spoken tongue, and has undergone immense changes in the course of the last three centuries; it has lost its genuineness and become unintelligible to an ordinary Malayalee. The new grammarians have worked out their grammar on a false basis without an insight into the origin and development of their tongue. It is high time for our Tamil-brethren to the west of the Ghauts to turn from their fancy-world and work on correct lines, effecting the improvement of their beloved Malayalam in a proper and genuine manner. For no authentic history of the language and literature, or, of the country and people of Malayalam is possible without a deep study of Tamil and its literature.

D. S.

THE AGE OF PATTUPPĀṬṬU

BY

Mr. T. A. RAMALINGAM CHETTIAR B.A., B.L.

PATTUPPĀṬṬU or the "Ten Idylls" is, as the name denotes, a collection of ten exquisite Tamil Poems. They are among the best in the Tamil Literature and can bear comparison with any ten poems in any language. Of their high literary merit, the keen insight shown by their authors into human feelings, and the very fine portraiture of incidents in human life and natural scenery, I will write another time.

The collection consists of :—

1. திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை—Tirumurugāttupaḍai.
2. பொருநராற்றுப்படை—Porunarāttupaḍai.
3. சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படை—Pānāttupaḍai (Minor).
4. பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை—Pānāttupaḍai (Major).
5. முல்லைப்பாட்டு—Mullai-pāṭṭu.
6. மதுரைக்காஞ்சி—Madurai-Kānji.
7. நெடுநல்வாடை—Neḍunal-Vāḍai.
8. குறிஞ்சிப்பாட்டு—Kurinji-pāṭṭu.
9. பட்டினப்பாலை—Paṭṭina-pālai.

and 10. மலைபடுகடாம்—Malaipaḍu-kaḍām.

Of these the 1st is the work of the well known Nakkīrar (நக்கீரர்). In it he speaks of the greatness of Muruga and his own experiences as a devotee. It is in the form of instructions given to a pilgrim going in search of *môksha* or heavenly bliss.

2nd, 3rd, 4th and 10th are respectively productions of Muḍattāmakkaṇṇiyār, (முடத்தாமக்கண்ணியார்) Nattattanār (நத்தத்தனார்), Uruttiraṅgaṇṇanār (உருத்திரங்கண்ணனார்) and Peruṅ kousikanār (பெருங்கௌசிகனார்). They are in form of instructions given to poor musicians and bards to find out the whereabouts of their (author's) patrons and be relieved of their poverty and want. In them the high birth, the prowess in war, the great wealth, and generosity of the patrons are well depicted, as also the way in which they were themselves treated. The patrons referred to are the great Karikāla-chōla (கரிகாலச்சோழன்), Nalliyakōdan (நல்லியக்கோடன்) of Eruma-nāḍu, Thoṇḍaimān Ilanthiryan, (தொண்டைமான் இளந்திரையன்) and Nannan (நன்னன்) son of Nannan of Palkunrakōṭṭam, respectively.

Maduraikanji is in praise of Neḍunjeḷian, the victor at Thalayālaṅganam. In it Māngudimaruthanār (மாங்குடிமருதனார்) after describing the high estate of his patron *gently* hints at his worldliness and the transitoriness of this worldly life and directs him towards a spiritual life. Hence the poem has been very happily called "The Gentle Hint."

The other four poems treat of love. In *Mullaipâttu*, Nappūthanār (நப்பூதனார்) describes the queen separated from her royal consort and languishing for his return, and his arrival after victory gained in war and wealth acquired. In *Nedunal-vadai*, "The Dreary Winter," Nakkīrar (நக்கீரர்) gives a picture of the princess waiting for the return of her lord until the time appointed by him and the sorrow in which she was immersed when he did not come then. Her attendants resort to all means to console her but to no purpose. Her plight is inconsolable indeed! In *Kurinjipâttu* the poet Kapilar (கபிலர்) describes the anxiety of a lady who met a prince in a forest and becoming enamoured of him secretly married him, but whose marriage was not looked upon with favour by her parents, and had therefore to meet her husband secretly; the husband having to pass dense wood infested with wild beasts and vermin and to cross

brooks and ponds. In *Pattinapâlai*, Uruttiraṅgaṇṇanār (உருத்திரங்கண்ணனார்) who was poor and who, to better his position, wanted to go to the court of Karikāla is unwilling to part from his wife. He describes the difficulties that he will have to undergo if he took his wife with him and so decides not to take her with him. His unenviable plight is well described in the poem.

Before saying anything about these poems, it would be necessary to investigate when these were written and when they were collected together under the name of "Pattupāṭṭu." But before entering into these questions we ought to see whether all the ten poems were written about the same time or at different times. We have seen that *Tiru-murugâttu-padai* and *Nedunal-vâdai* are both the works of Nakkīrar. The patron referred to in *Nedunalvâdai* was also the patron of Māṅguḍimaruthanār and he is the person to whom *Madurai-kanji* is dedicated. It is also believed generally that *Mullai-pâttu* refers to Neḍuñjeḷiyan, the victor of Thalayālaṅgānam, and the patron of Nakkīrar and Māṅguḍimaruthanār. So these four poems ought to have been written about the same time, *i.e.*, during the reign of Neḍuñjeḷiyan. Another of the poets patronised by the said Neḍuñjeḷiyan, Māṅguḍi-kilār (*Puram.* 24, 26, 372) was also patronised by Eḷiniyāthan of Vaṭṭāru (*Puram.* 396). Arisil-kilār, another poet patronised by that Elini (*Puram.* 230), has addressed verse 146 of *Puram.* to Perum-Pēgan, a petty king and a great patron of letters. Among his proteges was Paranar (*Puram.* 141, 142, 144 and 145). The same Paranar was a contemporary of Uruvapahrēr Iḷanjēḍ-Chenni, father of Karikāla (*Puram.* 4). So Karikāla Chōla ought to have been a contemporary of Neḍuñjeḷiyan, the victor of Thalayālaṅgānam or he ought to have lived a short time after him. Therefore *Porunarattu-padai* and *Pattina-palai* which are in praise of Karikāla ought to have been written at the same time as the 4 poems above mentioned, (*i.e Murugattupadai, Nedunalvadai,*

[*Puram* is a contraction of *Puranânûru*, an ancient anthology of 400 lyrics.—*Editor.*]

Madurai kanji and *Mullaipattu*), or a little after. The author of *Pattina-padai* is also the author of *Pânâttu-palai (major)*. So *Pânâttu-padai (major)* also ought to have been written in the time of Neduñjeḷiyan, or a little after. Kapilar, the author of *Kuriñji-pâttu*, was also one of the poets patronised by Perum-Pēgan (*Puram*. 143). So *Kuriñji-pâttu* also ought to have been written at the same time as *Pattina-pâlai*, *Porunarâttu-padai* and *Panattu-padai major*. In *Pânattu-padai minor* Nalliyakōḍan is described to be more generous than Chenkuṭṭuvan, the Chēra, (line 48—50,) and the reference clearly shows that Chenkuṭṭuvan was a contemporary of Nalliyakōḍan. From *Chilappathikâram* we learn that Chen-kuṭṭuvan Chēra and Karikāla Chōla were contemporaries. So *Pânâttupadai minor* ought to have been written during the reign of Karikāla *i.e.*, at the same time as *Tirumurugâttu-padai*, *Nedunal-vâdai*, *Madurai-kanji* and *Mullai-pattu*. This is also supported by the statement in *Pânattu-padai minor* (lines 84—115) that Nalliyakōḍan lived after the seven last patrons and that he was doing the work done by them; we know from *Puram*. that the seven last patrons were all contemporaries. Therefore Nalliyakōḍan the patron referred to in *Pânattupadai minor* and Naṭṭattanar, the author of it, ought to have lived a little after Perum-Pegan above referred to and probably in the reign of Karikāla. From *Puram*. 151, we find that Nannan, the patron referred to in *Malaipadukadâm*, was the ancestor of Iḷavachchirakō mentioned therein; also from the words used *viz.* "பொலந்தேர் நன்னன் மருகனன்றியும் நீயும் முயங்கற்கொத்தனை," it seems Nannan lived within a short time of Ilavachchirakō. Peruntalai Chāttanār has also addressed a verse *Puram*. 169 to Kumaṇan, the patron of Peruñchittiranār (*Puram*. 158 and the following verses). In *Puram*. 158, Perunchithiranār praises Kumaṇan as the patron who has taken over the work of the last seven patrons after their death. So Perunchittiranār, Kumaṇan, Peruntalai-Chāttanār and Iḷavachchirakō ought to have lived immediately after the last seven patrons, *i.e.*, after Karikāla. So Nannan the ancestor of Iḷavachchirakō ought to have lived during the reign of Karikāla or a little

before. Therefore *Malaipadukadâm*, the last of the "Ten Idylls," ought to have been written about the same time as *Tirumuru-gâttu-padai*. Thus we see that all the ten poems comprised in the *Pattuppâttu* were written durring the reign of Karikālā or within a short time immediately before or after him. It might have taken about a century between the writing of the earliest and that of the latest of them. It will now be our aim to fix as far as possible which is the century that gave birth to these poems.

With the help of *Chilappathikaram*, *Manimêkalai* and *Ettu-Togai*, "the Eight Collections," that have come down to us from ancient times, we can make a list of a few Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas and Chēras who lived before and after Karikāla, Neḍuñjeḷiyan and Cheṅ-kuṭṭuvan. I append a tentative list of the Chēras, Chōlas and Pāṇḍyas, I made from my intermittent study of Tamil Literature. It is likely it may require changes hereafter. I feel from the way in which I had to prepare it, it will require many changes and I offer it only as a basis for further work. A reference to the list will show that we know 8 Chōlas, 6 Pāṇḍyas and 9 Chēras and we also know more or less their sequence. They might have taken among them about 2 centuries allowing 25 years per reign. Now we find that *Chilappathikaram, Manimêkalai,* "the Ten Idylls" and most of the stanzas contained in "Eight Collections" (எட்டுத்தொகை) belong to this period. These are the most important portions of the Tamil literature that has come down to us from ancient times. Practically there is little of real value before these except Tol-kāppiyam (தொல்காப்பியம்) and Tiru-kural (திருக்குறள்). Hence the great importance of fixing the age of *Pattuppattu* "The Ten Tamil Idylls."

The earliest prince known to Tamil literature is Perum-chōtu Uthiyan Chēral. This Chēra is said to have fed the armies of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas during the great fratricidal war. He was a great warrior and had extended the limits of his kingdom a great deal. He was also a great patron of

letters (*Puram.* 1*). Nothing else is known about him, his ancestors, or his immediate successors. The poet Muḍinägar (முடிநாகர்) who sang his praise is said to have been a member of the 1st Tamil Academy. This verse is probably all that is left to us of that otherwise Mythical Sangam. Long after him lived the Pāṇḍya Palyāgasālai-Mudu-Kuḍumi-Peruvaḷudi (பல்யாகசாலை முதுகுடுமிப்பெருவழுதி). He was an ancestor of the victor at Thalayālaṅgānam. He was great in war and a just and kind ruler in peace. There is nothing to show how long before Neḍun-chelian Palyāgasālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḷudi* lived. In the interval between him and the kings whose list is here appended ought to have been written *Tol-Kappiyam* and *Tiru-Kural*. *Tol-Kappiyam* is said to be a work of the second Tamil Academy. When that Sangam existed, there is no material to find out. The few names given of the poets of the 1st and 2nd Tamil Academies are not all found in the literature that has come down to us. We find the names of Vānmīgar, Kauthamar and one or two others. We cannot now say whether these were the poets of the same name who are said to have adorned the two Acadamies. The shrewd guess of Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar of Ramnad, that Vānmīgar of Tamil literature might be the same as the author of the *Ramayana* is very ingenious and does not bear any improability†, but we cannot with the knowledge we have got at present be sure of the identity. *Tiru-Kural* was written before *Chilappathikaram* and *Manimêgalai* as the latter distinctly makes a reference (*vers.*22 ; 59—61) to it, and quotes a stanza. But as it is not given among the Second Academy works it ought have been written after it.

The next period we know of is the age of *Pattuppattu* we are speaking about. As I have stated, the age might have covered about two centuries. This was the period of the

---

* The ode to the Uthiyan Chêral is the first in the collection excluding the prefixed lyric by Perum-Thêvanâr in praise of God Civa.

* [See foot note in page 3 of this Volume.—*Editor.*]

† *Vide* "Sri Valmiki and South India" Tamilian Antiquary No. 7.

greatest literary activity in the Tamil land and has therefore been very happily named the "Augustan age of Tamil Literature." With the help of Tamil works we can construct a fairly accurate account of this period. For sometime after this period there is a gap. Then we hear of the Chōla Kō-Cheṅkaṇṇān (கோச்செங்கண்ணான்)and the Chēra Kaṇaikāl-Irumporai (கணைக்காலிரும்பொறை) who were contemporaries (*Puram.* 74). This Kō-Cheṅ-kaṇṇān and Karikālan are mentioned as the ancestors of the Chola Vijayālaya and his ancestors in inscriptions. By the untiring and praiseworthy work of Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya, Dr. Hultchz and other ephigraphists we have a complete list of the Chōla kings, who reigned after Vijayālaya. In that list no Kō-Cheṅgaṇṇān and Karikālan appear and Vijayālaya lived in the middle of the 9th century So Kō-Cheṅgaṇṇān ought to have lived before Vijayālaya *i.e.*, before the middle of the 9th century. We also learn from inscriptions and copper plates that for 2 or 3 centuries before Vijayālaya the Chōla kingdom was under the rule of the Pallavas. The Chōlas were then in a very poor state and there is no room for a powerful king like Kō-Cheñgaṇṇān. Then saint Jñāna Sambandhar refers to Kō-Cheñgaṇṇān in several of his hymns. The late lamented Sundaram Pillai has fixed once for all the age of Tiru-Jñāna-Sambandar to be the early part of the 7th century. This is also accepted by Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya. So Kō-Cheñgaṇṇān ought to have lived in the 4th or 5th century. Now in the list of Chōlas appended herewith, there are 4 Chōlas after Karikāla and at the rate of 25 years per king they might have reigned a hundred years among them. As we saw before there is a gap between the last of these and Kō-Cheṅgaṇṇān and this we might take to have occupied about another hundred years. Karikāla would then have lived and reigned in the 2nd century A. D.

Mr. V. Kanakasabai Pillai, whose untimely death we are still lamenting, has, in his book 'The Tamils, 1800 Years Ago,' given the middle of the 2nd century as the age of *Chilappathikaram* and *Manimêkalai*. In *Chilappathikaram* which was

written almost at the same time as the incidents described therein, one Kajabahu of Ceylon is said to have come and worshipped in the shrine of Kaṇṇaki. The *Mahavamsa* of Ceylon gives a list of Ceylon Kings. In that list two Kajabāhus are found, of whom the 1st lived in the 2nd century and the 2nd in the 12th century A.D. I believe the late Hon. Mr. Coomaraswami of Ceylon was the first to apply the knowledge of Ceylon History to fix the time of Tamil works. It was he who drew attention to the Kajabāhus. Mr. Kanakasabai Pillai has elaborately discussed the matter and come to the conclusion that the Kajabāhu referred to in *Chilappathikaram* ought to be the 1st Kajabāhu mentioned in the *Mahavamsa*. The same conclusion is arrived at by another scholar Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar of Mysore. But still there are not men wanting who would prefer to identify the Kajabāhu of *Chilappathikaram* with the 2nd Kajabāhu of *Mahavamsa*. It is a pity that Mr. Innes, *lately* a Judge of the Madras High Court, should be one of them. The facts I have mentioned above would, I believe, change the attitude of such men whose only difficulty seems to be due to their reluctance to admit antiquity to Tamil works. The following facts will also show the untenability of their position.

Rāja Kēseri Varman otherwise known as Anabāyan and Kulōthunga reigned between 1063 and 1112 A. D. He was the hero of the Tamil poem *Kalingathuparani*. In *Kalingathuparani* there is a reference to *Pattinapalai*, one of the "Ten Tamil Idylls," by name :—

"தழுவு
செந்தமிழ்ப் பரிசுவாணர் பொன்
பத்தொடாறு நூறுயிரம் பெற
பண்டுபட்டினப்பாலை கொண்டதும்."

Periya-puranam also was written during the reign of the same prince. The Saiva Bible (சைவத்திருமுறை) was collected and divided into several divisions in the tenth century. Sundara Mūrthi Swamigal lived in the 8th century. Tiru-Jñāna-Sambandha Swamigal and his contemporary Appar Swamigal

lived at the beginning of the 7th century. Arrangements were made for the singing of the Tēvāram hymns in temples in the 10th century. Several of the Vaishnava Alwars lived in the 8th and 9th centuries. From the beginning of the 11th century arrangements were made for the singing of the Vaishnava-Vēdās (நாலாயிரப்பிரபந்தம்) in the Vaishnava temples. Māṇikkavāçagar refers to a Varaguṇa. We find a Varaguṇa Pāṇḍiya about the latter half of the 9th century. It is but a guess that the Varaguṇa of Māṇikkavāçagar might be the same as the Varaguṇa who lived in the latter half of the 9th century. But still as it is believed that jackals were turned into *Ponies* for Manikkavāçagar by the God of Madura and there is a reference in the hymns of Appar to a transformation of jackals into *ponies*, and it is believed that the reference is to the transformation made for Māṇikkavaçakar, we cannot be sure of it. There is also the difficulty that we cannot give any reason for the non-inclusion of Māṇikkavaçakar's name in the *Tiru-tonda-togai* of Sundramūrty Swāmigal, if the former had lived before Appar Swāmigal. So, we are in a regular mesh when we try to find out the period of Māṇikkavaçakar's spiritual activity. But at any rate, he ought to have lived before the 10th century when the Caiva Bible was fixed.*

---

* [The date of Manikavaçagar again attracts our attention here; the question has come to the front once before. After all, is there any doubt of Manikavaçagar preceding the Têvaram hymnits? We find references to Manikavaçagar, at least in two places, in the hymns of Appar, the earliest of them. In one place the hymnist alludes to the transformation of jackals into *ponies* (see திருவாரூர் பதிகம் II) as refered to above; and in another place, he mentions Manikavaçagar by his name with an allusion to the well-known story of Nandi Thêvar, the drummer of the Paradise of Civa, incarnating as Mânikavaçagar. The lines in the hymn, (*vide* திருத்தாண்டகம், பதிகம் XI), run thus:—

"குராமலரோ டராமதியஞ் சடைமேற் கொண்டார்
குடமுழ நந் தீசனை வாசகனாக் கொண்டார்."

The transformation of jackals into *ponies* is traditionally believed by the Tamils to have been effected by God CIVA for Manikavacagar's sake; and the other reference clearly indicates Manikavacagar as the hymnist himself mentions him by name. The story of Nandi Thêvar of the paradise

We find from the *Têvarams*, *Tiruvaçakam* and *Nâlayira-prabandam* that, at the time they were composed, all through Southern India, Caivism and Vaishnavism, as we know them, were the popular religions and the Caiva and the Vaishnava temples were almost as numerous as they are now. But, when we look into the works of the period we are now considering, we find the popular religion was Buddhism or Jainism. The Hinduism, as we find it in these works is the worship of Indra, long forgotten, and Kumara not so popular in these days. Caivism, as described in *சமயக்கணக்கர் தந்திறமுரைத்தகாதை* of *Manimêkalai* does not occupy much space and does not

---

of CIVA coming to this world as an incarnation of Manikavacagar, to root out Buddhism, is well known to the Tamil public. The story is also corroborated by the Sanskrit *Puranas*. Mahamahopadyaya, Pandit Swaminatha Iyer in the Introduction (P. 67), to his edition of Nambiyar's *Tiruvilaiyadal*, says that the Sanscrit Puranas *(i.e.)* the *Adikailasa Mahatmya* (chap. XXXIX) and the *Manivâkya Charitra* (Chap. VI) contain the story. It is not necessary to state that the Tamil *Puranam* of Perumdurai narrates also this story in connection with Manikavacagar's birth. These facts, beyond all doubt, determine the date of Manikavacagar as being anterior to that of Appar Swamigal of the 7th century, the elder contemporary of Jnanasambanda.

The Tamilians have always accepted as an axiomatic truth that Manikavacagar lived long before the Thevaram Hymnists. This is not a mere illusion. But some who pull him down to a period later than that of a Varaguna of the 9th century speak much of the omission of Manikavacagar's name by Sundarar, the last of the hymnists, in his *Tiru-Tonda-Togai*. Manikavacagar cannot be held responsible for the omission of his name by a later poet, reasons for which may be various. But thus much is certain that Sundarar had at his disposal only a very limited time and space. As we are told, his song was an ex-tempore one and even that, he proposed to compose in the form of a *Pathigam*. *A Pathigam* is a set of 10 verses. Sundara confined himself to the general rule and began to recite his salutation poems, rather his *Litany*, naming the Caiva saints individually as his memory served him then. He conld have named only about 60 saints or so, when his *Pathigam* came to a close, and in the last of the ten stanzas, he very aptly made a salutation in generic terms, using expression broad enough to embrace all devotees that may possess any claim to be considered as Caiva saints. This is the simple reason for the omission, if at all, of Manikavacagar's name, as also the names of many other Caiva saints, for instance, Markandêyar, Sivakôsariar, in his short *Pathigam*.—*Editor, T.A.*]

seem to have been a popular religion. It stands to reason that Buddhism and Jainism declined only after the appearance and the phenominal activity of the Caiva saints and the Vaishnava Aḷwārs. Also from the inscriptions and the copper-plates obtained by the Epigraphical department of the Madras Government, it is clear that Buddhism and Jainism have ceased to be the popular religions from before the 7th century. The last grant to a Buddhist temple was in 1005 A. D. and that is a solitary instance of a grant to a Buddhist Shrine. So the heyday of Buddhism portrayed in *Chilappathikaram* and *Manimêkalai* cannot be brought down to the twelfth century.

After *Pattupattu* and *Ettuthogai,* ought to have been written *Jîvaka Chindâmani*, the last in chronological order of the *Panchakaviyams*, "The Five Epics." The minor *Panchakaviyams* were written later and *Vîrasoliyam* later still. The patron of Buddha mitran was Vîra Rājeñdra Chōla who reigned between 1064 and 1070. He was the victor at the battles fought at Kōpam and Kūḍalsangamam. In the commentary said to be written by a disciple of the author, Virarājendran is referred to as the victor at these two battles. In the commentary, the verses in *Pattupàttu* and *Ettutogai* are very freely quoted for illustration. So, these works ought to have been held in high repute in those days.

From *Purananûru, Pathittu-pattu*, "the Ten Tens," and other works we find there were many powerful independent princes at the time. Perum-Pagan is but one of them. He was fully the equal of any Chera, Chōla or Pāṇḍiya prince of his time. Poets were found more often in his Court. Further the Cheras were, in those days, at least the equals of Pāṇḍiyas and Cholas. Imayavaramban Neḍum Chêralātan, the father of Chen-kuṭṭuvan, advanced victorious to the very foot of the Himalayas as his name would show. Cheṅ-kuṭṭuvan himself invaded north and defeated several Arya kings and brought Ganges water and sacred stone for the Goddess Kannaki. They were also great patrons of Tamil literature and their

generosity is perpetuated by the separate collection of the "Ten Tens" consisting of poems in praise of Chêras alone. Such collections we do not find in the case of Pāndiyas or Chōlas. The Chēras soon lost ground, and in the 8th and 9th centuries we find no mention of them in the inscriptions. Their lands were encroached upon by Chōlas and several small princes who came later. In latter days, we find mention only of small chiefs claiming to be the descendants of the once great Chēras. For instance, Adigamān of the family of Elini reigning at Thagaḍūr claimed to be a Chēra prince. In the *Purananuru* and the "Ten Tens" we find Thagaḍūr of Adigamān destroyed by the Chēra Perunchēral Irumborai. So we may even doubt whether the Elinis could have belonged to the Chēra royal family. As regards Chōlas up to the time of Vijayālaya, who lived in the 9th century, the Chōla territories were mostly in the occupation of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas; and the Chōlas played but a subordinate part. It is Vijayālaya and his successors who defeated the Pallavas and drove them north. Then begins the decadence of the Pallava and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms. The Chōla kingdom reached its zenith in the time of Kulothunga who reigned between 1063 and 1112. In the 11th century, a portion of the Pāṇḍya country was ruled by the Chōla Pāṇḍyas, a branch of the Chōla ruling family. But from the latter part of the 12th century, the Chōlas also show signs of decline and the Pāṇḍyas, like a meteor, rise and shine for a time and then fall to their old *lithargic* position. The Mohammadans and the Vijianagar kings enter the field and begin the rule of the south through their viceroys. This is the story of Southern India as we know it from the inscriptions and the copper-plates. In the latter part of the 12th century, there is a quarrel between the two princes of the Pāṇḍyan royal family, one of whom seeks the help of Parākramabāku of Ceylon and the other is supported by the Chōla. In the beginning, the Ceylonese army is victorious but is defeated at the end. the "Ten Idylls," "the Ten Tens," the "400 Lyrics" and other contemporaneous works were written in the 12th century there ought to be mention

of these matters in them; but we find none. Further, what difference is there between the political history of the time portrayed in these works with sturdy independence and international commerce bringing in untold wealth, and the political history of the twelfth century as we know it?

One objection Mr. Innes and others cannot get over, is the absence of the names of the great poets like Tiruvaḷḷuvar and Nakkîrar in the *Tiru Tonda Togai* of Sundaramūrty Swāmigal. Those who urge this objection forget that the *Tiru-Tonda-Togai* does not include poets as poets. It is a list of saints and even among them only Caiva saints. The religion of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is even at this present moment hotly contested. There are people to claim him even for a Christian. Under these circumstances, how can we expect to find his name in the *Tiru-Tonda Togai.* As regards Nakkîrar, he was a devotee of Kumara. No doubt, at the present moment, there might be found Caivites not wholly particular, who will admit the devotees of Kumara as Caivites. But in the days of Sundarar, as we have seen, there was a great Caivite and Vaishnavite activity which drifted away from the faiths then prevalent in Southern India. Kumara or Muruga is a purely Dravidian God and the activity against Buddism was directed mostly by those who took their inspiration from Aryan sources. Even the Aryan God Indra, who came south probably with the earliest Aryan immigrants, was put aside and very soon forgotten. Further Nakkîrar lived in a liberal age and rubbed shoulders with Buddhists and Jains. The Caivism as known to Sundarar, ought to have been of a later growth and mostly borrowed from Sanskrit sources. Under these circumstances how can we expect Nakkîrar and other poets of his type to gain entrance into the exclusive sect of Caiva saints mentioned in the *Tiru-Tonda-Togai.* In later days, the hatred of the Buddhists and the Jains ceased with their disappearance and Nakkîrar, who rubbed shoulders with the Buddhists, was not looked askance at and therefore his *Tirumurugaltupadai* found a place in the Caiva Bible. From

the works of the period we are considering, we find the temples erected in those days were for Indra and Kumara and the festivals held were all in connection with the same deities. After the time of the Caiva saints and the Vaishnava Aḷwārs, the temples built were all for Civa and Vishnu, and the festivals held are all in their honour. Of the saints mentioned in the *Tiru Tonda Togai*, very few, including Kaṇṇappa Nāyanār, belonged to the period anterior to Tirujnānasambandar. These are colourless men and it is the depth of their belief in God and devotion to Him that got them admission into the sacred list. These facts would clearly show that there is absolutely no room for *Chilappadikâram*, *Manimêgalai* and *Pattupattu* after the time of Tirujnānasambandar, and that the absence of Tiruvaḷḷuvar and Nakkîrar, in the *Tiru-tonda-togai*, is by no means an insuperable objection.

Considering all things, we cannot but admit the time fixed by Mr. Kanagasabai Pillai for *Chilapadikaram* is very near the mark. As we saw already, Chēran Cheṅkuṭṭuvan, Pāṇḍyan Neḍun cheḷian and Chōlan Karikālan were the kings who lived at the time of *Chilapadikaram*. Now we know from the list of kings appended herewith, of three Chōlas before Karikala, and four Chōlas after him. If we take the beginning of the 2nd century* as the time of Karikala, Kō-Perunarkilli's time ought to have been about the middle of the first century, and that of Rājasūyam Vēṭṭa Perunarkilli, about the beginning of the 3rd century. So we will not be far wrong if we fix the Augustān age of Tamil literature as the two centuries from 50 A.D. to 250 A.D. That is also the time when "The Ten Idyls" (பத்துப்பாட்டு) were written.

The ancient Tamil works are generally called Sangam works, and *Pattupattu* and other works, written at the same time as that, are believed to be works of the poets of the 3rd Sangam. The first mention we have of Sangams is in the commentary to *Irayanar Agaporul*. The commentary is said to be the work of the great Nakkirar himself. But admittedly

* [The date assigned to Karikâla by the learned author of the "Tamils 1800 year ago" is A.D. 55 to 95; and we think it is accurate. *Editor, T.A.*]

the present form of the commentary is due not to Nakkirar, but to Nīlakaṇḍanār of Muziri.* In the account that is given of the commentary itself in its early portion, it ought to have passed through eight intermediaries before it reached Nîlakaṇḍanar. Computing 25 years for a generation, there ought to have been an interval of 2 centuries between Nakkīrar and Nīlakaṇḍanar, and no more. When the commentary assumed its present form the names of the so-called members of the 3rd Sangam ought to have been still fresh in the memory of the people. Now in the account given of these Sangams in the commentary, what is stated about the 1st and 2nd Sangams is very little. Of even that very little, a very large portion is, without doubt, mythical. Of the works said to have been produced by the poets of the 1st Academy, we have got nothing but the single Stanza of Muḍināgar referred to before. Of the 2nd academy, we know a little more. We are sure there was an *Agathiyam* and there ought to have been an Agathiyar. Only some *Sûtrams* of

* [Muziri was another important seat of Tamil learning in the Chera country; and professor Nilakandanar of this ancient city is well known to the Tamil literati by his excellent commentary of Irayanar Agaporul which is the first start in Tamil prose-composition and surpasses all subsequent prose works in literary beauty and excellence. It has already been pointed out in a previous note that the two most important epics of the Panchakaviams were produced at Vanjikalam, the capital of the Chera country. While Vanji stood higher up on the banks of the river Periyar, Muziri was situated near its mouth, and it was one of the famous emporiums on the western coast of Tamilagam. It was the first commercial station on the Arabian sea, and was frequented by Yavana (the Egyptian-Greek and Roman) merchants. From Pentingerian Tables (225 A.D.) we learn that the Romans had, in this city now extinc , a force of about 2,000 men to protect their trade, and a temple erected in honour of Augustus. According to Christian traditions it was the landing place of St. Thomas, the Apostle.

This once famous city gradually lost its commercial importance owing to the constant attacks of pirates and the existence of the *Alimugam* the *Pseudostomos* of the Greeks which means "false face" and 'is a correct translation of the Tamil word *alimugam*, by which the mouth of the Periyar below Crangannr (Kodungolur) is known even now.' Its place was taken by Vakkalai (Ptolemy's Bakare) on the mouth of the Pali (Ptolemy's Baris) near Kottayam. It traded chiefly in pepper which was brought to it from Nilkuntram, a place even now famous for its excellent pepper, situated at a distance of six miles inland. This province of Nilkuntram including Vakkelai was, according to the Periplus (80 A.D.), under the sway of the Pandiyan kings and we know that it was under the same regime in the days of Manikkavacagar, the prime minister of Pandiyan, who went to Perun-turai, "the Great Port", of the Pandiyas, in the west, to purchase horses for the state. Messrs. T. Ponnambalam Pillai and K. G. Sesha Aiyar have fixed the date of Manikkavacagar (properly Mani-vacagar) to be the third century A.D. *Vide* Tamilian Antiquary, No. 4.—*Editor, T. A.*]

Agathiam have reached us. But we have got the whole of *Tol-kappiyam*, it being still the best grammar in Tamil. We have also heard of some of the other works said to have been produced during the age of the 2nd Academy. The extent of time and the number of Pāṇḍya kings and that of the poets given for these two Sangams are on the face of them very much exaggerated. With regard to the 3rd Sangam called also the last Sangam, we are on much surer ground. The poets who have sung the praise of the *Kural* and whose poems are preserved in *Tiruvalluva malai* could not have been all members of any Academy. Some of the stanzas are on the face of them, by mythical personages. The verses by persons like Perun-Tēvanar, the author of Bharatam, belong to a later age. Of the others, all were not contemporaries. For instance, Perum Chitiranar who was the contemporary of Kumanan who lived after Karikāla could not have been a contemporary of Paranar who was a bard in the Court of Uruvappahrēr Ilan Chēd Chenni (உருவப்பஃறேர் இளஞ்சேட்சென்னி), the father of Karikala. Ugra Peruvaludi (உக்கிரப்பெருவழுதி) is, as a reference to the list of the Pāṇḍyas given will show, the last of the Pāṇḍyas in the list. We find in the *Tiruvalluva malai* a verse attributed to him. At the same time we find a verse attributed to Nakkîrar, the contemporary of Nanmâran who died in battle at Ilavandi Palli, and another to Kārikannanār of Kavēri-Pūm paṭṭinam, the contemporary of Peruvaludi who died at Veḷḷi-Ambalam. It is not likely that all these lived at the same time. All that seems to be certain is that there was an Academy at Madura, and probably many of those mentioned in *Tiruvalluvamalai* were members of it at different times. The information is given by a person who lived too near the time to easily ignore it. He does not give a list of all the poets who lived together at any time and he does not say that the Sangam met and dissolved within a generation. On the other hand, he says that the Sangam sat through the reign of a number of kings. Of course, the number given by him is exaggerated. But about the fact of the Sangam there can be no doubt.

It is generally said that *Tirukural* was the last work produced in the third Sangam. We have seen above that a verse of the *Tirukural* is actually quoted in *Manimêgalai.* Chāthanār, the author of *Manimêgalai,* actually lived when the incidents mentioned in *Manimêgalai* took place. The kings, who lived at the time the incident took place, were, according to *Chilapadikaram,* Cheran Chen-kuṭṭuvan, Pāṇḍiyan Neḍunjelian and Chôlan Karikalan. We know of four Chōlas after Karikalan, the last being Rājasūyam Vēṭṭa Peru Narkilli who was a contemporary of Ugra peru valudi, thelast Paṇḍiya, in whose time the Sangam met. So, the Sangam that existed for at least four reigns after *Manimêgalai* could not have ceased to exist before *Manimêgalai* was written.

The next question we have to discuss is, when were the ten poems collected together under the name of *Pattupâttu* or Ten Idylls? Here again we have got no materials to fix definitely the time. But we may take it that these were collected together about the time when the other collections of the poems of the period were being written. These other collections eight in number were composed until the reign of Kōcheṅkaṇṇān. These are

"நற்றிணை, நல்ல குறுந்தொகை, ஐங்குறுநூறு,
ஒத்த பதிற்றுப்பத்து, ஓங்கு பரிபாடல்,
கற்றறிந்தார் ஏத்துங் கலியோடு அகம், புறமென்று
இத்திறத்த எட்டுத் தொகை."

Of these, *Kalitogai* is said to have been collected together by Nallanduvanār, a poet of the sangam period itself. Of the other collections, we can only be sure that they were made before the time of Perunthēvanār, the author of Bhāratam, because we find him supplying several of the collections with an additional devotional song. As a devotional verse of his appears also in *Puranânûru* and *Purananuru* contains a verse of the time of Kōcheṅkaṇṇān, and we have seen that Kōcheṅkannan ought to have lived in

the 4th or 5th century A. D., we can be sure that Perumthēvanār lived in or after the 5th century. Perumthēvanār refers to a Nandi Pōttarāyar, the victor at Theḷḷāru. Now we find from the inscriptions that one Nandivarman Pallava of the time of Vikramāditya II who reigned between 733 and 746, gained a victory at Theḷḷāru. If this Nandivarman Pallava is the same as the Nandi Pōttarāyar of Perumthēvanār, as Mr. Venkayya suggests, then Perumthēvanār ought to have lived in the middle of the 8th century. In that case the collections of *Pattupattu* and *Ettutogai* ought to have been made before the 8th century. More than that we cannot say.

I also append herewith a chronological list of the Tamil works I have been able to prepare with the help of the Epigraphical reports of the Madras Party and my study of Tamil Literature. The time mentioned for each is, as in the case of the other list I append, only tentative. My object in giving this list is more to induce enquiry and final decision in these matters. In the lists of the Chēras, Chōlas and Pāṇḍiyas, the list of the Chēra kings is a genealogical tree. The relationship among the Chēras mentioned here, is what is given in the பதிற்றுப் பத்து, "Ten Tens." The relationship among the Chōlas and Pāṇḍiyas cannot be found. So I give their names one after another as they reigned in succession.

The period when these lived was the time when the Tamils reached the zenith of their prosperity and civilisation. In their civilisation there is a lot we can learn with advantage to ourselves. They were great mariners, and their trade extended even to distant Rome. Burma, Java and the Islands in the Indian Ocean were well known to them, as the existence of Tamil inscriptions in those far-off places would prove. It was the merchant who had foreign trade that was held in those days in high esteem. There was nothing of the churlish prohibition of foreign travel. The king himself was considered one of the people though the first among them. What wealth of speculation can be

hung on the two following lines in "Maṅgalvāḻthu Paḍalam" of *Cilappadikaram* :—

> "பெருநில முழுதாளும் பெருமகன் றலைவைத்த
> ஒரு தனிக் குடிகளோ டுயர்ந்தோங்கு செல்வத்தான்"!

This will also show the happy relationship that existed between the king and his subjects. Education was universal. The number of poets, whose names have come down to us from the age of *Pattupâttu* above mentioned, *i. e.,* from 50 A.D. and 250 A.D., is very large amounting very nearly to 200. If there could at any time have lived 200 poets whose verses can survive 18 centuries, what should we think of the education and the civilisation of the people who lived then? Not only this, the poets belong to all classes of society from the highest to the lowest. Even more important there were poetesses belonging to all classes. The verses of Adimandiyar, daughter of the great Karikāla, of Kō-perum-peṇḍu, the wife of Pūda-Pāṇḍiyan and of the daughters of Pāri, a mountain chief, are well-known. Auvai was behind no poet in literary capacity. She was also a philosopher. Veḷḷi-vīdiyar and Nachcheḷḷaiyar are also poetesses of no mean order; the latter of them is said to have been richly rewarded by a Chēra and provided with a seat in his court. We have got verses of even a potter woman and of kurava women. This would show the extent of female education in those days. When there were so many poets and poetesses of all classes, does it not necessarily follow that there ought to have been universal education amongst the people or something very near it, so that they may at least understand and appreciate their poets and poetesses? As we have seen before, this period was the Augustan age of Tamil literature. The poets of the period like Māngudi-Marudanār, Nakkīrar, Kapilar, Paranar, Chāthanār, Iḷaṅko and Tiruvaḷḷu-var are far above to any later Tamil poet. Their originality, the wealth of their imagination and accurate description surpass anything else in later Tamil literature. It is their

greatness which enslaved their successors and made them mere copyists, with this difference that they very soon degenerated into exaggeration and false comparisons. The kings and chiefs of those times patronised these poets and treated them very generously. The presents given to men like Kapilar still make the mouths of the present day poets water. The chiefs like the seven last patrons of whom Perum-Pēgan was probably the foremost were still powerful. They treated the poets as their friends and very often the interference of a poet settled amicably an ugly quarrel in their families. There was no rigid caste system in those days. We find an attempt in *Tolkappiyam* to force the Aryan classification on the Tamils; but it failed as other attempts in the same direction. But unfortunately distinctions arose in later days and the Tamils began to have their own classification and gradation of castes. The so-called Sudra of the Aryan classification (Vellāla) now occupied the highest place among the Tamils; and no Brahmin supremacy was ever heard. We see in the ancient period we are talking about, all castes ate together and probably took meat. The sexual relationship was as rigid as in these days, and the community exerted a wholesome influence in insisting on the constancy of women. A woman who went astray was thrown out. But immorality in man was not looked down upon with the same stringency. Sati was in practice; but it was not forced on the widow. On the other hand we find people dissuading a widow from entering the funeral pile of her husband. Others continued widows and led a life of self-restraint and self sacrifice. It is possible that there was widow-marriage in those days, and the following lines lend colour to it.

"காதல ரிறப்பிற் கனையெரி பொத்தி
ஊதுலைக் குருகின் உயிர்த்தகத் தடங்காது
இன்னுயி ரெய்வர் எய்யா ராயின்
நன்னீர்ப்பொய்கையின் நளியெரி புகுவர்
நளியெரி புகாஅ ராயின் அன்பரோடு
உடனுறை வாழ்க்கைக் காற்றுடம்படுவர்
பத்தினிப்பெண்டிர்"...........(ஊரலருரைத்தகாதை.)

The fact that widowhood and *sati* are spoken of so highly in the above lines gives room for a guess that there might have been widow-marriages in those days; but even then they were not looked upon with favour.

The institution of dancing women dates from before the Christian era and we see that most of the fine arts including painting and music were left to their keeping. There was no polyandry in those days and we do not find any remains of it even though the Ethnologist would say that the Tamils were polyandrists once. Polygamy there was, and the one instance of it I find in ancient Tamil Literature has relation to a brahmin from the north Kauṇiyan Viṇṇandāyan, கவுணியன் விண்ணந்தாயன் (Puranānūru 166).

As I have said before, Buddism and the worship of Indra and Kumara were the prevailing religions of those days. The mysticism which has captived and has to a large extent made us dreamers has not yet invaded the South. The Tamils of those days were still men. They took a serious view of their life, they did their duty and they enjoyed themselves like men. They had parks near their towns, their women partook of their enjoyments and went with them to the parks, to their sea-beach and other places of enjoyment. There was no Gosha system of the Mahomedans, nor the half Gosha of the high class Hindus of the present day. The Tamils of those days were not dreamers. They have been men of action. They did not speculate as to what a thing might be, but actually went and looked for themselves and said what the thing was. Their life is a standing example as to what we Tamils can do and what we ought to do as their descendants. So it is the duty of every Tamilian to study the ancient Tamil Literature and brushing aside all later habits which have brought us to the mire, follow the beautiful and elevating example of our ancestors.

APPENDIX I.

(a) *List of the Chêras.*

Uthiyan Cheralathan := *Vêlmâl-Nallini, daughter of Velman-Veliyan.

Nedun-Cheralathan Imaya-Varamban: married Paduman Thevi, daughter of Velman Avikko, and reigned 58 years.†

Palyanai Chelkelu-Kuttuvan: reigned 25 years.

Mudi-Cheral-Adan *alias* Vana-varamban or Chelva-Kadunko: married Mana-killi *alias* Chonai, daughter of Karikala Chola, and reigned 25 years.

Adukolpattu-Cheral Adan: reigned 38 years.

Chenkuttuvan, who crossed the sea: married Perun Thevi, sister of Velman Anthuvan, and ruled 55 years. He was a great warrior: captured Viyalur, the capital of Ilanko-Vel: attacked Mogoor of Palayan Maran, in the Pandiya Kingdom: conducted an expedition by the sea to the banks of the Ganges and conquered the Aryan Kings: defeated the nine Chola princes who rebelled against his cousin Killi-valavan, the grandson of Karikala: at his fiftieth age he performed the Raja suya-yâgam. The period of his reign is probably between A.D. 90—130.

Ilanko-Adigal (the author; of the great epic Chilap-pathikaram.

Chelva Kadunko *alias* Yanaikkad-Chey "the elephant eyed": married a countess belonged to the family of Velman-Aviko and reigned 25 years; he was a contemporary of Pandiyan Neduncheliyan II.

Perum Cheral-Irumporai: married Velmal-Chellai, daughter of Velman Anthuvan of Maiyur: besieged Thagadur and ruled 17 years.

Kudakko-Ilancheral-Irumborai; Perum Kuntrur Kilar was his Court poet: ruled 16 years.

Cheraman Mavenko: his contemporaries were Pandian Ugra Peruvaludi and Cholan Raja suyam vetta Peru Narkilli.

---

* Vêlmâl (வேள்மாள்) = a countess: feminine of Vêlmán (வேள்மான்) = a count or an earl belonging to the Vellala caste.

† The period of reign assigned to each king in the list is according to the "Ten Tens." (பதிற்றுப்பத்து).

(b) *List of the Cholas.*

1. Ko-Peru Narkilli (முடித்தலைக் கோ பெருநற்கிள்ளி).
2. Vel pahradakkai-Peru Viral Killi (வேற்பஃறடக்கைப் பெரு விறற் கிள்ளி) : killed in battle with Neduncheralathan.
3. Uruva pahrer-Ilanjed Chenni (உருவப் பஃறேர் இளஞ் சேட் சென்னி) : married the daughter of Alunthur Vel. His son:
4. Karikala the Great, *alias* Peru Ma-valattan (கரிகாலன் பெருமா வளத்தான்) : married the daughter of Nankur Vel. [His daughter Chonai *alias* Manakkilli was the mother of the Chera Chenkuttuvan.] His sons:
5. Ched Chenni-Nalam-Killi (சேட்சென்னி நலங் கிள்ளி) and Mavalathan-Nedun-Killi (மாவளத்தான் நெடுங் கிள்ளி).
6. Killivalavan, who died at Kulamurtam (குளமுற்றத்துத் துஞ்சிய கிள்ளிவளவன்).
7. Perum-tiru-valavan, who died at Kurappalli (குராப்பள்ளித் துஞ்சிய பெருந்திரு வளவன்.)
8. Rajasuyam-Vetta Perunar-Killi (இராஜசூயம் வேட்ட பெருநற் கிள்ளி): was a friend of Cheran-Mavenko and of Pandiyan Ugra-Peruvaludi: and killed a Chera by name Mantharam-Cheral-Irumporai, a different person from Yanaikad Chey-Mantharam-Cheral, son of Chenkuttuvan.

(c) *List of the Pandiyas.*

1. Peru-valudi, who died at Velli-ambalam: was a friend of Chola Karikala peruvalathan.
2. Maranvaludi : conquerd the Northern Kings: died at Kudagaram.
3. Nan Maran *alias* Nedunjeliyan I : defeated an Aryan Army and died on his throne. [He is the Pandiyan who caused the innocent Kovalan to be murdered].
4. Vetrivel Cheliyan : succeeded Nedun Cheliyan I.
5. Nedun Cheliyan II, victor at Thalayalanganam.
6. Pandiyan Kiran Chattan : contemporary and friend of Killivalavan, who died at Kula Mutram.
7. Pandiyan Nan Maran who died at Ilavandippalli.
8. Ugra peru-valudi who beseiged the fort "Kana-pereil" (கானப்பேரெயில்) of Vengai Marpan and who was a friend of Cheran-Mavenko and Cholan Raja suyam vetta Peru Narkilli.

APPENDIX II.

Some Tamil works and their probable periods.

Unknown.	Some stanzas in the Eight-Collections: those refering to Uthiyan Cheralathan, Aravon Magan or Dharumaputra and Palyagasalai-mudu-kudumi-peruval Uthi written by Mudinagar, Kouthamar Karikilar, Nettimaiyar and Nedumpalliyattanar. Tolkappiam. Iriyanar's Agapporul.
50 to 250 A. D.	திருக்குறள். பத்துப்பாட்டு. சிலப்பதிகாரம். மணிமேகலை. இறையனாரகப்பொருளுரை (நக்கீரர் சொன்னது) எட்டுத்தொகையுள் பெரும்பாலன.
250 to 500 A.D.	எட்டுத்தொகையுள் சிறுபான்மைய:— கோச்செங்கணான், கணைக்காலிரும்பொறை. கோப்பெருஞ்சோழன் இவர்களைப்பற்றின. சிந்தாமணி. சிறுபஞ்சகாவியங்கள். இறையனாரகப்பொருளுரை (நீலகண்டர்செய்தது.) பழந்தமிழ்ப்பாக்கள் தொகுத்து முடிந்தது.
500 to 900 A.D.	தேவாரம். திருவாசகம். (?) நாலாயிரப்பிரபந்தம். திருச்சிற்றம்பலக்கோவை பாரத வெண்பா. நந்திக்கலம்பகம்.
900 to 1200 A.D.	கலிங்கத்துப்பரணி. பெரியபுராணம். வீரசோழியம். நம்பியாண்டார் நம்பி சைவத்திருமுறை வகுத்தது. உரையாசிரியர். புறத்திரட்டு. கம்பர் இராமாயணம். புகழேந்தி நளவெண்பா. ஒட்டக் கூத்தர் உத்தர ராமாயணம். ஔவை II, பாடல்கள்
1200 to 1500 A.D.	உரையாசிரியர்கள். புராணங்கள்: கந்தபுராணம் முதலிய. சித்தாந்த சாஸ்திரங்கள். நன்னூல். வில்லிபாரதம். அருணகிரிநாதர். அதிவீர ராம பாண்டியன் நைடதம். வரகுணபாண்டியன் பிரமோத்திர காண்டம்.

Heroic Mothers of Ancient Tamiligam.

வீரத் தாய்மார்.

BY

PANDIT M. RAGHAVA AIYENGAR AVERGAL.

புண்ணிய பூமியாகிய இப் பரதகண்டம், முற்காலத்தே தனதான்யாதி சம்பத்துக்களுக்கு நிலைக்களமாயிருந்தது போலவே, வீரலக்ஷ்மி மகிழ்ந்து விளையாடற்குரிய விறற்களமாகவும் விளங்கியதென்பதற்கு எண்ணிறந்த உதாரணங்களுண்டு. இவ்விஷயம், இராமாயண பாரதாதி இதிகாசங்களாலும் பிறவற்றாலும் எளிதிலுணரப்படும். இவ்வாறு வீரச் செயல்கட்குப் பேர்போன பூமியாக நம்தேசம் விளங்கியதற்கு அநேக காரணங்கள் கூறலாம். ஆயினும், அவை யெல்லாவற்றிலுஞ் சிறந்த காரணமாகக் கூறத்தக்கது, அந்நாளில் தோன்றிய தாய்மாரது பெருமையேயாகும். தாய்மார்மட்டும் அறிவும் ஆற்றலு முடையராய்த் தம் மக்களை நல்வழிகளிற் கவலையோடு பழக்கி வருவா ராயின் அம் மக்கட்கூட்டம் உலகத்தே பெருமையும் புகழும் பெற்று விளங்கத் தடையென்னை? முலைப்பாலோடு தீரமோ வீரமோ தியாகமோ கலந்து ஊட்டப்படுமாயின் அவை என்றும் அழியாது உயர்வும் உறுதியும் பெறு மென்பது திண்ணம். 'இளமையிற் கல்வி சிலைபிலெழுத்து,' 'தொட்டிற் பழக்கம் சுடுகாடு மட்டும்' என்பவை முதுமொழிக ளன்றோ? அத்தகைய தாய்மார்களை யுடைய தேசங்களே உலகத்தார் கண்முன்னே உயர்ந்து தோன்றுவன. உதாரணமாக—ஜப்பான்தேசத்தை எடுத்துக்கொள்வோம். சமீபகாலத்தில் நடந்த "ருஷ்ய-ஜப்பானியப்" பெரும் போரிலே, ஜப்பானியர் உலகம் வியந்து புகழத்தக்க வெற்றியை அடைந்த விஷயம் நாம் அறியாத தன்று. தேச அளவிலும் ஜனத் தொகையிலும் தம்மி

னும் மிகப்பெரிய ருஷியருடன் எதிர்த்து ஜப்பானியர் வெற்றி பெற்றதற்கு, வேறுகாரணங்களு முண்டாயினும், முக்கியமானது அவர்கள் தாய்தந்தையரால் குழவிப்பருவ முதலே பெற்று வந்த வீரப் பயிற்சியே யன்றோ? ஜப்பானியச் சிறுவன் கொஞ்சிப் பேசும்படி பெற்றவளால் முதலிற் கற்பிக்கப்படும் வார்த்தைகள்—தேசாபிமானமும் தியாகமு மாகும். அவனது விளையாட்டுப் பொருட்கள் யுத்தாயுதங்களின் போலிகள். அவனுக்குப் போதிக்கப்படும் முதற்பாடங்கள்—அவ்வாயுதங்களை உபயோகிக்கும் முறையும், தீரமும் தன்மறுப்பும் பிற வீரக்குணங்களுமே. அவன் சிறுவயதிற் கற்றுக்கொண்டவை—தன்னுட்டின் க்ஷேமத்தின் பொருட்டு ஆத்ம பரித்தியாகம் செய்வதே பெருங்கீர்த்தியென்பதும், மானங்கெடவரின் மரணமே உத்தம மென்பதுமாம். இத்தகைய பயிற்சி சிறு பருவமுதலே நிகழ்ந்து வருமாயின், அந்த ஜனசமூகத்தை வெல்லவல்லவர் உலகில் யாவர்? ஐந்தில் வளையாதது ஐம்பதில் வளையா தன்றோ? இவ்வுண்மையை அறிந்து நடத்தி, ஜப்பானுட்டின் சரித்திரத்தை உயர்வுபெற வைத்தவர், முக்கியமாக, அந்நாட்டுத் தாய்மார்களென்றே சொல்லவேண்டும். அத்தாயர் தம்மக்களைக் கூட்டங் கூட்டமாகத் தைரியங்கூறி போர்க் கனுப்பி வந்ததும், யுத்தகளத்தில் சிறிதுந் தளர்வின்றிப் போர் புரியவும், சமயம் நேரும்போது நாட்டின் பொருட்டு மகிழ்ச்சியுடன் உயிரைப் பரித்தியாகம் செய்யவும், கடிதமூலம் எழுதித் தம்மக்களை ஊக்கப்படுத்தி வந்ததும் நாம் படித்துங் கேட்டு முள்ளனவே யாம். இன்னும், யுத்த காலத்தில் ஜப்பானியத் தாய்மார்கள் காட்டிய தேசாபிமான வீரச் செயல்களை, அப்போது வெளிவந்த "ருஷ்யோ-ஜப்பானியப்போர்" என்னும் புத்தகத் தொகுதிகளிற் பரக்கக் காணலாம். இவ்வரலாறுகள் இக்காலத்தவரான நமக்கு அருமை யுடையனவாகத் தோன்றினும், நமது பழைய சரிதங்களை ஆராயின், நம்நாட்டிலும் அத்தகைய வீரத்தாயரையும் வீரமக்களையும் மிகுதியாகக் காணலாம். மேற்கூறிய உண்மைகளெல்லாம் அறிந்து நடத்தவல்ல தாய்மார்களாகவே முற்காலத்து மகளிர் இந்நாட்டில் விளங்கினவர் என்பதற்கு நம் தமிழ்நூல்களில் அநேக மேற்கோள்கள் உள்ளன.

தமிழ் மொழியிலுள்ள புராதன நூல்களாகிய புறநானூறு முதலியவற்றில் வீரச்சுவையே ஏனைய சுவைகளினும் மிகுதியாகக் காணப்படும். அவ்வீரம்பற்றி நிகழ்ந்த அற்புதச் செயல்களையெல்லாம் கூறுதற்கு இஃது இடமன்று. ஆயினும் அக்காலத்தே தாய்மார்களால் சிறந்த வீரர்கள் எவ்வாறு படைக்கப்பட்டார் என்பது மட்டில் இங்கே கவனிக்கத் தக்கது. இவ்வீரத்தாயர்க்கிருந்ததாக நூல்களிற்காணப்படும் குணவிசேடங்களை நோக்கும்போது உலக சரித்திரத்திலேயே இத்தகைய பெருமை காண்டற்கு அரிது என்று தோன்றுமென்பதில் ஐய மில்லை. தமிழ் நாட்டில், முற்கால முதலே, இவ்வீரப்பெண்டிர்களது பெருமையைப் புகழ்ந்து வந்த வழக்கமும் இருந்தது. புறப்பொருட்டுறைகளில் இது "மூதின் முல்லை" என்று கூறப்படும். அஃதாவது :—

"அடல்வேல் ஆடவர்க் கன்றியும் அவ்வில்
மடவரல் மகளிர்க்கும் மறமிகுத் தன்று

'கொல்லும் வேலினையுடைய வீரர்க்கல்லது அந்த மறக்குடியில் மடப்பத்தினையுடைய அரிவைமார்க்கும் சினத்தைச் சிறப்பித்தது' என்பது அதன் பொருள். இவ்வீரப் பெண்டிர் செய்கைகளாகத் தமிழ்நூல்களிற் கண்ட பாடல்கள் முழுதும் நல்லிசைப் புலமை வாய்ந்த பெண்டிர்களாலேயே பாடப்பட்டிருத்தல் வியக்கத் தக்கதாயு முள்ளது. பொன்முடியார் என்னும் பெண்புலவர் தாய் தந்தை அரசன் மகன் முதலியவர்க்குரிய கடமைகள் இன்னதென் பதை அடியில் வருமாறு கூறுகின்றார்.

"ஈன்று புறந்தருதல் என்றலைக் கடனே :
சான்றோ னாக்குதல் தந்தைக்குக் கடனே :
வேல்வடித்துக் கொடுத்தல் கொல்லற்குக் கடனே :
நன்னடை நல்கல் வேந்தற்குக் கடனே :
ஒளிறுவாள் அருஞ்சமம் முருக்கிக்
களிறெறிந்து பெயர்தல் காளைக்குக் கடனே." (புறம்-312)

இப்பாட்டால் அக்காலத்து வீரத் தாயரது மனநிலை இத்தகையதென்பது தெளியப்படும். "என்றலைக்கடனே" என்பதினால், பொன்முடியார் தம்மையே தாயாகக் கூறுதல் காண்க.

இதும்பாலவே, தகடூர் யாத்திரை என்னும் பழைய நூலி லுள்ளபாட்டொன்று வருமாறு :—

"தருமமும் ஈதேயாம் தானமும் ஈதாம்
கருமமும் காணுங்கால் ஈதாம்—செருமுனையிற்
கோள்வாண் மறவர் தலைதுமிப்ப என்மகன்
வாள்வாய் முயங்கப் பெறின்." (புறத்திரட்டு.)

இப்பாட்டில், தாயொருத்தி 'தன்மகன் யுத்தகளத்தே சாகப் பெற்றால், அதுவே தர்மமும் தானமும் கருமமு மாகும்' என்று கூறிய அற்புத விஷயம் குறிக்கப்பட் டுள்ளது. தன் மகன் யுத் தத்தே மடிதல் தன் நாட்டின் க்ஷேமங் கருதியே யன்றித் தன்னலம் கருதியதன்றாதலால், அச்செயலினும் சிறந்த தர்மமும் தானமும் கருமமும் பிறவில்லை என்பது கருத்து. எவ்வளவு உயர்வும் பெருமையும் கொண்ட சிந்தை முற்காலத்துப் பெண்டிர்கட்கு இருந்தது என்பது இப்பாட்டை நோக்குவார்க்கு இனிது விளங் கும். இனி, மற்றொரு வீரத்தாயைப் பற்றிப் பூங்கணுத்திரை என்னும் பெண்புலவர் பின்வருமாறு புகழ்கின்றார்.

"மீனுண் கொக்கின் றூவி யன்ன
வானரைக் கூந்தல் முதியோள் சிறுவன்
களிறெறிந் து பட்டன னென்னு முவகை
ஈன்ற ஞான்றினும் பெரிதே; கண்ணீர்
நோன்கழை யலம்வரும் வெதிரத்து
வான்பெயத் தூங்கிய சிதரினும் பலவே". (புறம். 277)

இதன் கருத்து :—கொக்கின் இறகுபோல நரைத்த கூந்தலை யுடைய முதியவள் தன் புதல்வன் போரிலே யானையை வீழ்த்திக் கொன்று தானும் மடிந்தான் என்னுஞ் செய்திகேட்டு, தான் அவனைப் பெற்றபோது அடைந்த மகிழ்ச்சியினும் அதிகமகிழ்ச் சியை அடைந்தாள்—என்பது. இதனால் அக்காலத்தே, வீரத் தாய ரான பெண்டிர், தாம் புதல்வரைப் பெறுவது, ஓர் அற்புத வீரச் செயலையேனும் அவரிடம் கண்டு மகிழ்தற்கே என்று, கருதி னவரென்பதும், அவர் வீரச்சாவில் அப்பெண்டிர்க்கு மனமகிழ்ச் சியே யன்றித் துக்க மில்லை யென்பதும் நன்கு விளங்கும். இப்

பாட்டில், தாய் கண்ட அற்புத வீரச்செயல் தன் சிறுவன் ஒரு பெருங் களிற்றைக் குத்திக் கொன்றது. "வால் நரைக் கூந்தல் முதியோள் சிறுவன்" என்பதினால், நெடுங் காலத்திக்குப் பின் ஒரே புத்திரனைப் பெற்றவள் என்பது பெறப்படும்.

இனி, மற்றொருபாடல் பெரிதும் உருக்கங் காட்டி நிற்கின்றது. வீரத் தாய் ஒருத்தி தன் ஏகபுத்திரனையே போர்க்கு அனுப்புகின்ற மாட்சியை ஒக்கூர் மாசாத்தியார் என்னும் பெண்புலவர் பெரிதும் வியந்து இரங்கி பின் வருமாறு கூறுகின்றார்.

"கெடுக சிந்தை: கடிதிவள் துணிவே:
மூதிற் பெண்டி ராதல் தகுமே.
மேனாள் உற்ற செருவிற்' இவள்தன்னை
யானை எறிந்து களத்த்' ஒழிந்தனனே:
நெருநல் உற்ற செருவிற்' இவள் கொழுநன்
பொருநரை விலங்கி ஆண்டுப்பட் டனனே:
இன்றும்,
செருப்பறை கேட்டு விருப்புற்று மயங்கி
வேல்கைக் கொடுத்து வெளிதுவிரித்த்' உடீஇ,
பாறுமயிர்க் குடுமி எண்ணெய் நீவி,
ஒருமகன் அல்லது இல்லோள்
செருமுக நோக்கிச் செல்கென விடுமே' (புறம்-279).

இதன் கருத்து—(ஒருதாய்) "முன்பு அவள் தகப்பன் யுத்த களத்தில் யானையை யெறிந்து இறந்து போயிருப்பவும், சமீபத்தில் நடந்தபோரில் தன் புருஷன் எதிரிகளைக் கொன்று தானும் மடிந்துபோ யிருப்பவும் இவற்றிற்காக மனத் தளர்வின்றி, எதிரிகளின் யுத்தப்பறை ஒலிப்பதைக் கேட்டு மகிழ்ச்சி மிகுந்து, தன் சிறுவனுக்கு ஆடையணிவித்து அவன் குடுமியை எண்ணெயிட்டுச் சீவி முடித்து, தான் ஒரேபுத்திரனை உடையவளா யிருந்தும் சிறிதும் மனங் கவலாது, போர்க்கள நோக்கிச் செல்க என்று அவனை அனுப்புகின்றாள். இச்செய்கையைக் கண்ட என் மனம் கெடுவதாக: இவள் துணிவு அஞ்சத்தக்கதாம்: பழைய வீரக் குடியிற் பிறந்தவ ளென்பது இவட்குத் தகும்". என்ன வீரம்!

இதனிலும் ஆச்சரியகரமான செய்தி கேட்டதுண்டோ? இது போலவே வெண்பாமாலை யுடையாரும்,

"வந்த படைநோனாள் வாயின் முலைபறித்து
வெந்திற லெஃக மிறைக்கொளீஇ—முந்தை
முதல்வர் கற்றான்காட்டி மூதில் மடவாள்
புதல்வனைச் செல்கென்றாள் போர்க்கு" *

"கன்னின்றா னெந்தை: கணவன் களப்பட்டான்:
முன்னின்று மொய்யவிந்தா ரென்னையர்— பின்னின்று
கைபோய்க் கணை யுதைப்பக் காவலன் பின்னோடி
எய்போற் கிடந்தான் என் ஏறு."†

என்று கூறுதல் காண்க. இனி, மற்றொரு பாடல் மேற்கூறிய தினும் மிக்க வீரத் தன்மையை குறிப்ப தென்னலாம்: இதுவும் காக்கைபாடினியார்-நச்செள்ளையார் என்னும் ஒரு பெண்புலவர் பாடியதே யாம்.

"நரம்பெழுந் துலறிய நிரம்பா மென்றோள்
முளரி மருங்கின் முதியோள், சிறுவன்
படையழிந்து மாறினன் என்று பலர் கூற,
மண்டமர்க் குடைத்தன னாயின், உண்ட என்
முலைஅறுத் திடுவென் யானெனச் சினைந்து,
கொண்ட வாளொடு படுபிணம் பெயர்த்துச்
செங்களந் துழவுவோள் சிதைந்து வேறாகிய
படுமகன் கிடைக்கை காணூஉ,
ஈன்ற ஞான்றினும் பெரிது உவந்தனளே." (புறம்-278.)

---

* இதன் பொருள்—தங்கள்மேல் எதிர்த்து வந்த சேனையைக் கண்டு பொறாதவளாய், பிள்ளை வாயிலுள்ள முலையை வாங்கி, கொடிய வலிதங்கிய வேலாயுதத்தை முன்பு பகைவரைக் குத்தி வளைந்த வளைவுகளை நீக்கி, தன் முன்னோர்களது நடுகல்லை அவனுக்குக் காட்டி, பழைய மறக்குடிப் பெண்ணானவள் தன் மகனைப் போர்க்குச் செல்க என்றாள்.

† இதன் பொருள்—கல்லிலே பொருந்தி நின்றான் என் தகப்பன்; என் கணவன் போர்க்களத்திலே பட்டான்; பகைவர் முன்பு நின்று எதிர்த்து யுத்தத்திலே விழுந்தார் என் தமையன்மார்; தன் சேனை அழியவும், தான் அழியாமல் பின்னே நின்று, தன் கை சென்று அம்பைச் செலுத்தப் பகை அரசன்மேலே பாய்ந்து, பின், முள்ளம் பன்றி போலப் பட்டுக் கிடந்தான் என்னுடைய புதல்வன்.

இதன் கருத்து—'வயது முதிர்ந்த ஒருதாய் தன் சிறுவன் யுத்தத்தில் வலியழிந்து புறங்கொடுத் தோடினன் என்று பலர் சொல்லக் கேட்டு, "அவ்வாறு அவன் போரிற் புறங்கொடுத் தோடினவனாயின் அவன் பாலுண்டு வளர்தற்குக் காரணமாயிருந்த என் முலைகளை அறுத்திடுவேன்" என்று, வாளைக் கையிற் கொண்டு போர்க்களம் புகுந்து, வீழ்ந்து கிடக்கும் பிணங்களைப் புரட்டித்தேடி வருபவள் இரு துண்டமாகக் கிடந்த தன் மகன் உடலைக் கண்டு, அவனைப் பெற்றபோ தடைந்த மகிழ்ச்சியினும் அதிக மகிழ்ச்சி யடைந்தாள்.' இப் பாட்டில் கூறப்பட்டதை நோக்கும்போது, இத்தகைய வீரத்தாய்மார்கள் உலகத்திலேயே அரியர் என்று தோன்றுமென்பதில் ஐயமில்லை. இவ்வாறே, ஔவையாரும்,

"கடல்கிளர்ந் தன்ன (த)கடூர் நாப்பண்
வேர்துவாய் யடித்து வேறலைப் பெயரித்
தோறுகைத் தெழுதருந் தூரந்தெறி ஞாட்பின்
வருபடை போழ்ந்து வாய்ப்படை விலங்கி
இடைப்படை யழுவத்துச் சிதைந்து வேறாகிய
சிறப்புடை யாளன் மாண்பு கண் டருளி
வாடுமுலை யூறிச் சுரந்தன
ஓடாப் பூட்கை விடலை தாய்க்கே." (புறம். 295.)

இப்பாட்டிலே, 'தகடூரில், எதிர்த்த பகைவர் சேனையின் ஊடே வீழ்ந்து அவரை வெட்டிக் கொண்டே சென்று, அச்சேனை நடுவில் தானும் வெட்டுண்டு இரு துண்டமாகக் கிடந்த தன் புத்திரனது மாட்சிமைக் கண்டு அகங் குளிர்தலால், அவனைப் பெற்ற வயது முதிர்ந்த தாய்க்கு முலையூறிப் பால்சுரந்தது' என அழகு பெறக் கூறியிருத்தல் படித்து மகிழத் தக்கது. இன்னும், புறத் திரட்டிலே தகடூர் யாத்திரைப் பாடல்களாகக் கண்டவை தம் வீரப் புதல்வர் செயலைக் கண்டு தாய்மார் கூறியன வாகவே அமைந்து விளங்குகின்றன.

(a) "எற்கண் டறிகோ எற்கண் டறிகோ
என்மக னாதல் எற்கண் டறிகோ:

கண்ணே கணைமூழ் கினவே; தலையின்
வண்ண மாலையும் வாளிவிடக் குறைந்தன;
வாயே
பொருநனைப் பகழி மூழ்கலிற் புலால்வழித்து
ஆவ நாழிகை அம்புசெறித் தற்றே:
நெஞ்சே வெஞ்சரங் கடந்தன: குறங்கே
நிறங்கரந்து பலசர நிரைத்தன: அதனால்,
அவிழ்பூ அம்பணைக் கிடந்த காளை
கவிழ்பூங்கழற் றிண் காய்போன் றனனே.''

"இத்தகடீர் யாத்திரை, துறகத்துப் பெயர்ந்த நெடுங்கோளன் தாய் *இறந்துபட்ட தலைப்பெயனிலை'' என்பர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர். (தொல், புறத்திணையியல், சூத்-உச)

(b) "குரங்கு மேனித் திரங்குமுகச் செதுமுலை
நரைமூ தாட்டி வினவுதி யாயின்,
நும்மகன் கொல்லோ அறியேன் இம்மகன்:
கொற்ற வெண்குடை மன்னர்க்கு உதவிச்
செஞ்சோற் றருங்கடன் வெஞ்சமத் தாற்றி,
களிறுதலை யடுத்து மாகால் நீட்டிப்
பிளிறுகுரன் முரச மெத்தணை யாக,
பருந்தின் செருநிழற் பந்த ராக,
அழிபிணக் குன்றே வேலி யாக,
கழுகுணக் கிடந்த காளை நும்
மகன்கொலோ யானறியேன் இம்மகனே.''

(c) "வாழிய துடிய! வாழிய துடிய!
என்மகன்
ஆர்த்தெறிந் தனனோ, எறிந்தார்த் தனனோ?
ஆர்த்து மெறியான்; எறிந்து மமரான்;
கையது வேலே, காலது கழலே,
மெய்யது சினமே, மேற்சென் றனனே:
வேந்த ரெல்லாந் தன்னோக் கினரே;
நோக்கி னோக்கா முறுவலன் றூக்கி
தழீஇந் தாமெனத் தண்ணுமை,
கழித்தா னென்வாள் வீழ்ந்தன களிறே.''

* இறந்துபட்ட தலைப்பெயல்நிலை = இறந்துபோன தன் மகனைச் சென்றடையும் நிலை.

இனி, புறநானூற்றில், ஒருவர், காவற்பெண்டு என்னும் பெண்புலவரை நோக்கி, 'நும் மகன் யாண்டுளன்' என்று கேட்க, அதற்கு அவர் கூறிய அழகிய பாடல் பின் வருவது :—

"சிற்றில் நற்றூண் பற்றி நின்மகன்
யாண்டுள னோவென வினவுதி : என்மகன்
யாண்டுள னாயினும் அறியேன் ஓரும்.
புலிசேர்ந்து போகிய கல்லளை போல
ஈன்ற வயிறோ இதுவே ;
தோன்றுவன் மாதோ போர்க்களத் தானே." (புறம் 86)

இதன் பொருள்—சிறிய வீட்டிலே நல்ல தூணைப் பிடித்துக் கொண்டு, உன் மகன் எங்குள்ளான் என்று கேட்கின்றாய்; என்னுடைய மகன் எவ்விடத் திருப்பினும் யான் அறியேன். புலி தங்கிப் போன மலைக்குகை போல அவனைப்பெற்ற வயிறோ இது ; அவன் யுத்தகளத்திலே தோன்றுவன் ; ஆண்டுச் சென்று காண்பாயாக—என்பது. இதனால், இப்பாட்டுப் பாடியவர் மறக்குடிப் பெண்டிராதல் வேண்டுமென்பதும், புலியொத்த போர் வீரனை மகனாக உடையவர் என்பதும், அத்தகை வீரமகனைப் போர்க்களத்தே போக்கியபின் அவனைப் பெற்ற தம் வயிற்றைப் புலி கிடந்துபோன கன்முழையாகக் கருதினா ரென்பதும் விளங்கும். இது பாடியவர் மனநிலை எவ்வளவு அருமை பெருமை வாய்ந்துள்ளது ! வீர மக்களைப் பெறுவதில், பழைய காலத்துப் பெண்டிர் அடையும் மகிழ்ச்சியும் பெருமிதமும் இத்தன்மையன என்பது இதனால் நன்கு விளங்கும்.

இனி, தம் வீரமக்கள் போர்க்குச் சென்று அங்கே சிறிது மானத் தாழ்வான செயலைச் செய்ததாகத் தெரியவரின், அவர் தாயர் அம்மக்களை மிகச் சினந்து வெறுப்பர். ஒரு தாய், தன் மகன் பகைக் களிற்றின் மேலே வேலையெறிந்து, அவ்வேலைத் திரும்பப் பெறும் ஆற்ற லில்லாது வெறுங் கையனாய்ப் புறங் கொடுத்தது கண்டு,

"வாதுவல் வயிறே; வாதுவல் வயிறே;
நோகேன் அத்தை நின்னீன் றனனே.

பொருந்தா மன்னர் அருஞ்சம முருக்கி
அக்களத் தொழிதல் செல்லாய், மிக்க
புகர்முகக் குஞ்சர மெறிந்த எஃகம்
அதன்முகத் தொழிய நீபோந் தனையே;
அதனால்,
எம்மில் செய்யாப் பெரும்பழி செய்த
கல்லாக் காளையை ஈன்ற வயிறே."

என்று கூறி மிகவும் வெறுத்தனள். இப் பாட்டின் கருத்தாவது:—பகை யரசரைப் போரில் வென்று அக்களத்திலே நீயும் இறந்து படாமல் யானைமுகத்தெறிந்த நின்வேலை அதனோடு போக விட்டு நீ புறங்கொடுத்துத் திரும்பினை, இதனால் எமது முன்னோர் செய்யாத பெரும்பழியை விளைத்த மூடனாகிய உன்னைப் பெற்ற என் வயிற்றை அறுப்பேன் அறுப்பேன்!—என்பது. இவ்வாறு நிகழும் வீரத்தாயர் கூற்று, தொல்காப்பியத்தில், "தாய் தப வந்த தலைப்பெய னிலை" என்று கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. அஃதாவது :— 'போர்க்களத்துப் பொருது மாயும் சிறப்பிற் றீர்ந்து தன் மகன் புறங்கொடுத்தானாக அது கேட்டுத் தாய், சாக்காடு துணிந்து சென்று, மகனைக் கூடும் கூட்டம்' என்பர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர். இவ்வாறு, தமிழ்நாட்டு வீரப்பெண்டிர் செயல் பழங்காலத்தே புகழ்ச்சிக் குரியதாக இருந்ததா லன்றோ, அவர்களைப் பற்றிப் பழைய இலக்கண நூல்களும் பெருமை கூறத் தலைப்பட்டன. போர்க்களத்தே தம் குடிக்குச் சிறிது மானங்கெட வரும்போது அக்காலத்துப் பெண்டி ரியல்பு இத்தன்மைத்தாயின் வேறு கெட்ட வழியில் தம் குடிக்கு வரும் இழிவை அவர்கள் எவ்வாறு கருதுபவ ராதல் வேண்டும்? சோழ வரச னொருவனது ஏக புத்திரனாகிய உதய குமாரன் என்பவன், மணிமேகலை மேல் வைத்த கழிபெருங் காமத்தனாகி, அவள் தனியே சோலையி லிருந்தபோது அவளிடம்செல்ல, அங்கே ஒரு விஞ்சையனால் அவ்வரசகுமாரன் கொலையுண்டனன். இச்செய்தியைக் கேள்வியுற்ற சோழன், தன் மகன் தன் பெருங்குடிக்கு ஒரே வழித் தோன்றலா யிருப்பவும், அவனது இழிவான செய்கையால் அவன் சாவைப் பொருட்படுத்தாது,

"மக்னே முறைசெய்த மன்னவன் வழி யோர்
துயர்வினை யாளன் தோன்றினன் என்பது
வேந்தர் தம்செவி உறுவதன் முன்னம்
ஈங்கிவன் றன்னையு மீமத் தேற்றிக்

கொளுத்திவிடுக" என்று ஆணையிட்டனன். அன்றியும் அச்சோழன் மனைவிக்கு ஒருத்தி அவள் மகனது சாவைக் கூறும்போது,

"தன்மண் காத்தன்று பிறர்மண் கொண்டன்று
என்னெனப் படுமோ நின்மக னிறந்தது:
மன்பதை காக்கும் மன்னவன் தன்முன்
துன்பங் கொள்ளேல்."

என்று இழிவுபடுத்தி அவளைத் தேற்றுவா ளாயினள். இவற்றால் ஒழுக்கங் கெட்ட மக்களை, அவர்கள் எத்தகைய உயர் பதவியில் இருப்பினும், அரசரும் குடிகளும் பெரிதும் வெறுத்து வந்தமை புலப்படும்.

இவ்வாறு, தமிழகம், முன்னாளில் அறிவாற்றல் மிக்க வீரத் தாய்மாரகளை உடையதாகி, அருமையும் பெருமையுங் கொண்ட செயல்களுக்குரிய நிலைக் களமா யிருந்தது. அவர்கள் பெற்ற வீரர்கள் குடிகளின் க்ஷேமத்தின்பொருட்டும் தங் நாட்டு அரசன் பொருட்டும் ஆத்ம பரித்தியாகம் செய்வதிற் பயிற்சி மிக்கவர்களாய், சமய நேர்ந்தபோ தெல்லாம் அவ்வாறு செய்து, தமிழகத்தின் பெருமையை மலைமே லிட்ட தீபம்போல விளக்கி வந்தனர். சங்க நாட்களில், தமிழ் நாட்டின்மேல் வடவரசரேனும், பிறவரசரேனும் படையெடுத்து வென்ற செய்தி கேட்கப் படுதலே அரிது. ஆனால், தமிழரசர் வடவருடனும் பல பிறருடனும் போர்புரிந்து வெற்றி கொண்ட விஷயம் காணலாம். இதன் காரணம் அக்காலத்து விளங்கிய தமிழர் வீரத்தின் பெருமையேயாம். அத்தகைய வீரத்தை வளர்த்து வந்தவர் யாவர்? தமிழத் தாயர்களே யன்றோ?

அங்ஙனம் வீரத்தாயர்கள் விளங்கிய தமிழகம் அந்நாளில் ஏனைய நலங்களாலும் நிரம்பின; நாடு செல்வத்தில் மிதந்தது. நாகரீகம் உச்ச நிலையை அடைந்தது. பொருட்செல்வமும், கல்விச்

செல்வமும் ஒருங்கே பூரித்தன. வியபாரமும், கைத்தொழிலும் அபி விர்த்தியெய்தின. அன்றியும், வீர இலக்குமி வீற்றிருந்த இந் நாடு உலகுக்கோர் பண்டகசாலை எனவும் திகழ்ந்தது. தமிழரது கடல் வர்த்தகம் வெகு தூரம் வரை வியாபித்தது. இற்றைக்கு மூவாயிர ஆட்டைகளுக்கு முன்னர்த் தொடங்கி எகிப்தியரும் பபிலோனியரும் தமிழரோடு வர்த்தக உறவு பூண்டிருந்தனர். யூதேய நாட்டரசன் சாலமன் காலத்தில் அவ்வர்த்தகம் பின்னும் விருத்தி எய்திற்று. பின்னர் யவனர் தலைப்பட்டனர்; உரோமர் அவரைத் தொடர்ந்தனர். கிறிஸ்தாப்த ஆரம்பத்தில், உரோமாபுரி உன்னத தசையையடைந்திருந்தபொழுது ஐரோப்பா முழுதும் அதன் கீழ் அடங்கிற்று. எகிப்தும் அதன் குடைக்கீழ் ஒதுங்கிற்று. உரோமைச் சக்கரவர்த்திகளோ தமிழ அரசருடன் உறவு பூண்டொழுகினர். அக்காலத்தில் உரோமை ராஜ்யத்திற்கும் தமிழகத்திற்கும் வர்த்தகம் எவ்வளவு பெருமிதமாய் நடந்தேறிய தென்னின், வருடந்தோறும் ஏறக்குறைய பதினைந்து கோடி ரூபாய் பெறுமதியான பொன் நாணயங்களை உரோமாபுரி தமிழகத்திற்கு அனுப்பி வந்தது என்றும், இங்கு நின்று ஏற்றுமதியான சரக்குகள் அந்நாட்டில் நூறு மடங்கு அதிக விலைக்குப் போயின என்றும், பிளினி என்னும் சரித்திராசிரியர் தமது குறிப்பில் எழுதியுள்ளார். ஸ்த்ராபோ என்ற மற்றொரு சரித்திரக்காரர், "செங்கடல் துறை முகத்தினின்றும் நூற்றிருபது கப்பல்கட்குக் குறையாதவை இந்தியாவிற்குப் புறப்பட்டுப் போகப் பார்த்தேன்" என்று குறிப்பிட் டிருக்கின்றனர். ஆ! தமிழ வர்த்தகப் பெருமை என்னென்பேம்! அக்காலத்தில் அரபிய குடாக்கடலிற் கடற் கொள்ளைக்காரர் அதிகம் இருந்தபடியால், வர்த்தகக் காப்பின் பொருட்டு, மேற்றிசை வர்த்தகர்க்கு முதல் வர்த்தக ஸ்தானமாயிருந்த முசிரிப் பட்டினத்தில் உரோமைப் போர்வீரர் 2000 பேர் நிலைவரமாய் நிறுத்தப்பட்டனர் என்றும் அறிகின்றோம். உரோமரும் யவனரும் தமிழர் படையிற் சேவித்தலைப் பெருமையாகக் கொண்டனர். மதுரையின் கோட்டை வாயில் உரோமைப் போர்வீரராற் காக்கப்பட்டது. இவ்வாறே, தமிழகம் இற்றைக்கு இராயிரவாட்டை

களுக்கு முன்னர் இவ்வளவு சீருஞ் சிறப்பும் பெற்றிருந்தமைக்கு அந்நாளில் தம்மக்கட்குத் தேசாபிமான மூட்டி வளர்த்த வீரத் தாயரே காரணம் ஆவர். "திரைகடலோடியும் திரவியம் தேடு" என்பதும் அந்நாளில் தென்னாட்டிற் சிறந்த ஒரு பெண்மணியின் வாக்கேயாம். அக்காலத்துத் தமிழத் தாயர்கள் மிக்க புலமையும் வாய்ந்து விளங்கினர் என்பதற்குச் சங்கத்து நூல்களே சான்றும். [அவ்விஷயத்தைக் "நல்லிசைப்புலமை மெல்லியலார்கள்" என்ற எமது வியாசத்தாற் காண்க.*]

சங்க காலத்துக்குப் பின், அறிவும் ஆற்றலுமுடைய வீரத் தாய்மார்களும் ஆத்ம பரித்தியாகம் செய்ய வல்ல வீர மக்களும் குறைந்து வந்தமையாற் போலும், வடவேந்தர் பலர் தமிழகத்தே பிரவேசிக்கத் தொடங்கிய செய்திகள் கேட்கப்படுகின்றன. சங்க காலத்துகுப் பின்பு வடவர் தமிழர்க்குள் நிகழ்ந்து வந்த போர் கள் அளவு படுவன வல்ல. பல்லவரென்றும் இரட்டரென்றும் சளுக்கரென்றும் கடம்பரென்றும் கூறப்படும் வடவரசர் தொகுதி பல தமிழகத்தைக் கைப்பற்றின. அதனால் தமிழ் வேந்தராகிய சேர சோழ பாண்டியரும் பிறரும் தம்பழம் பெருமை குன்றினர். முடிவில் ஆண்மையும் தியாகமுமாகிய பயிற்சிகள் குறையத் தமிழர் வீரம் முற்றும் தலை கவிழ்ந்தது. இக் காலத்தவராகிய நம்மவர்க்கோ மேலே கூறிவந்த அற்புத வீரச்செயல்களெல்லாம் கற்பனைக் கதைகளாகவே தோன்றுவன. ஏனெனில், நம்மவரது மனநிலை அவ்வளவு குன்றி யொழிந்தது. கால சக்கிரத்தின் சுழற்சியால் உலகத்தில் ஓரிடத்திற்குள்ளே உண்டாம் அற்புத மாறுதல்கள் இவை.

தமிழ் மக்கள் தம் முன்னைய நிலையை இன்னும் பெற விரும்புவாராயின், தம் மகளிரை அவரது முன்னைய நிலைக்கு உயர்த்துதல் அவர்க்கு முதற்கடனே யாகும். அறிவும் ஆற்றலு முடைய தாய்மார் இல்வழி நன் மக்களைப் பெறுதலும் அரிதே யாம்.

"வசையிலா வண்பயன் குன்றும் இசையிலா
யாக்கை பொறுத்த நிலம்."

[* இவ்வியாசம் பின்னர் இடம் வாய்த்துழி வெளிவரும் — Ed.]